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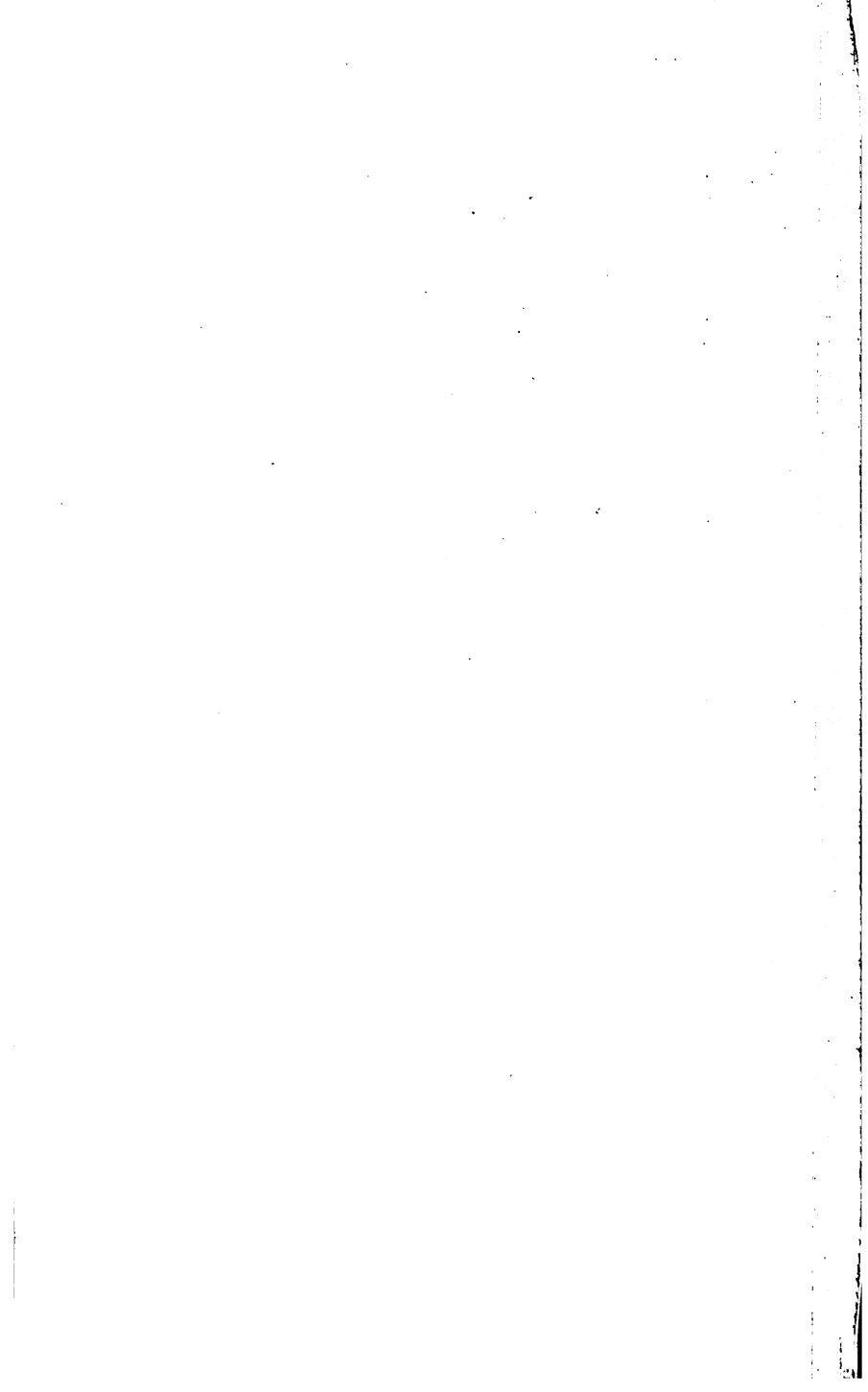
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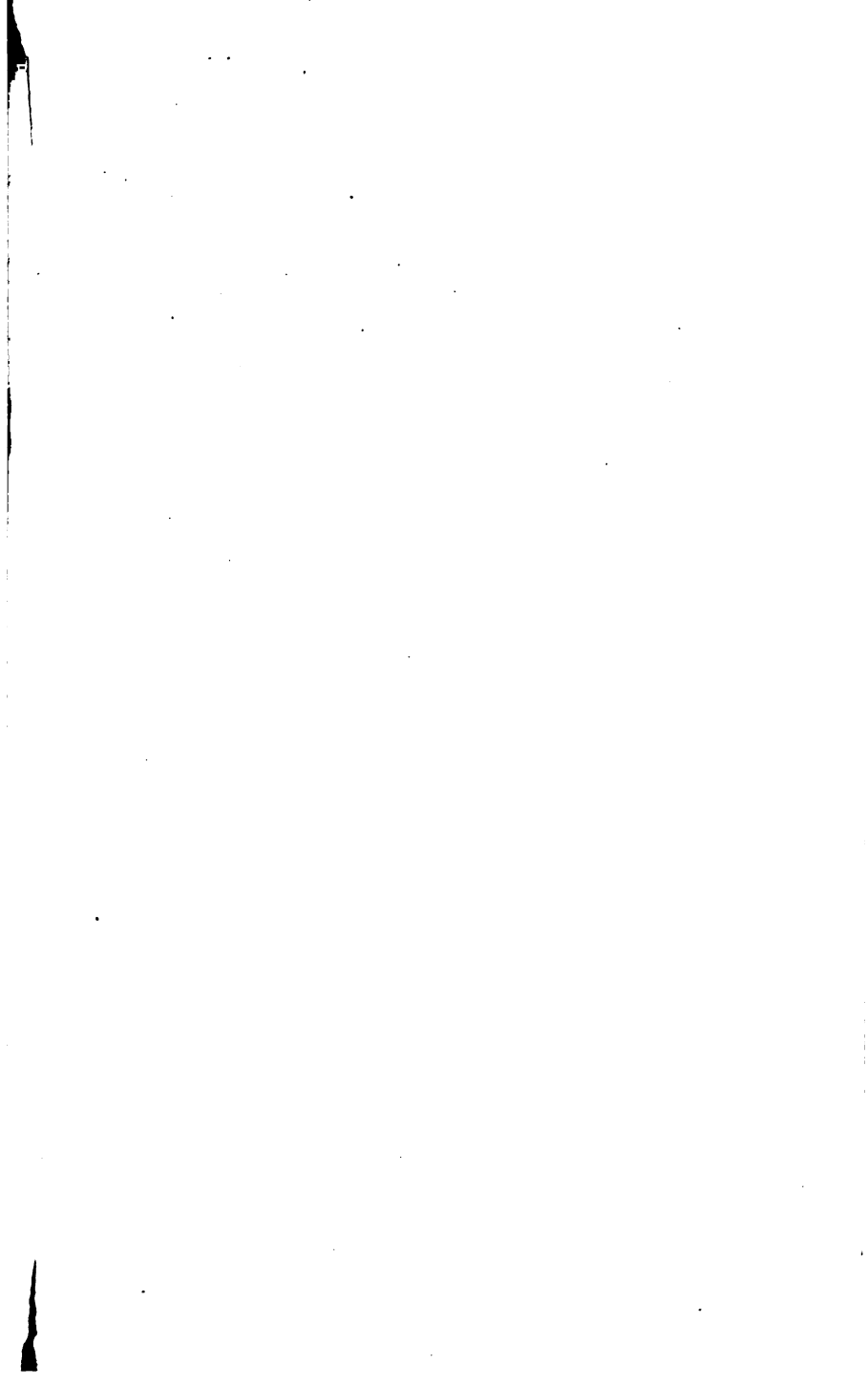
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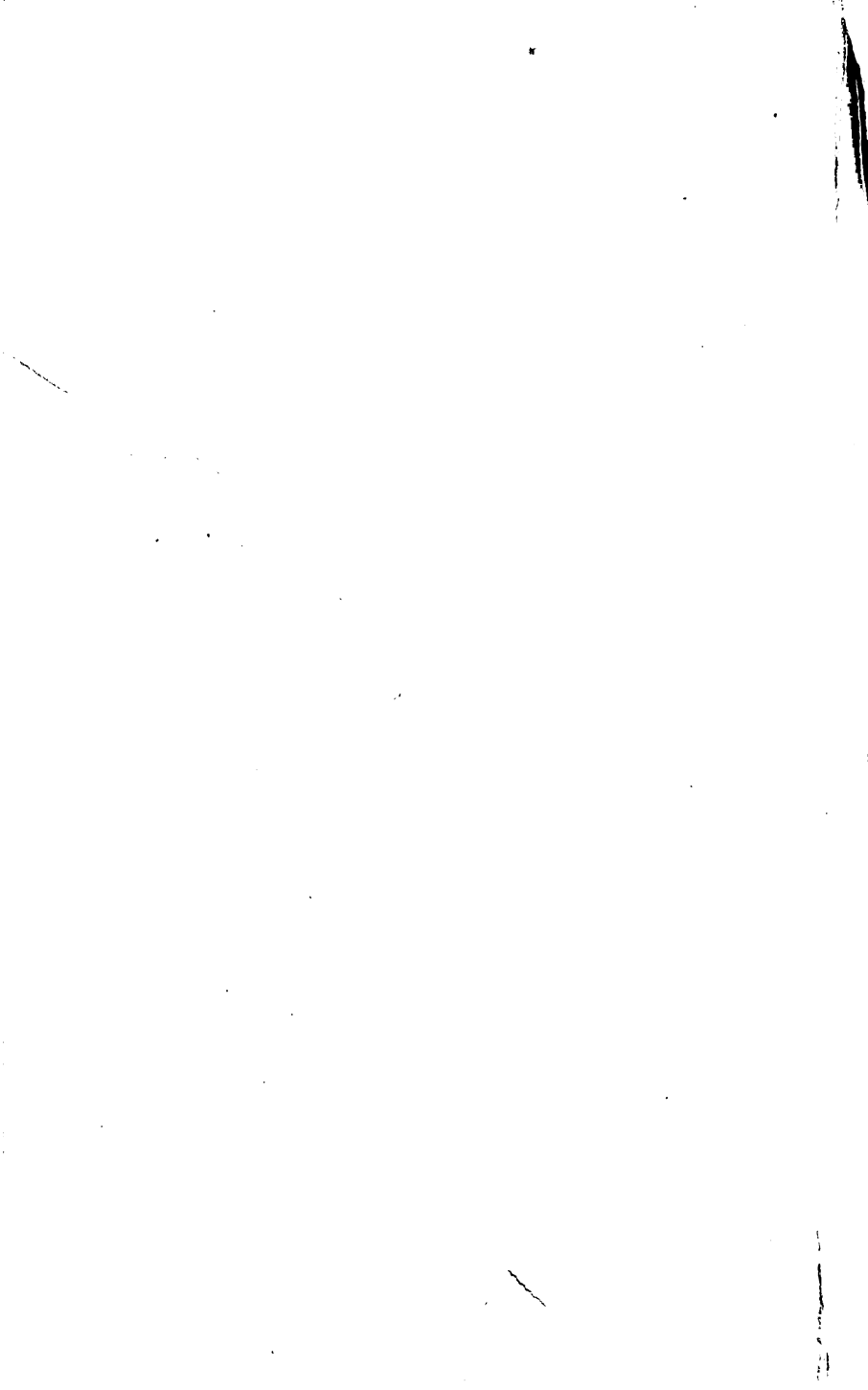
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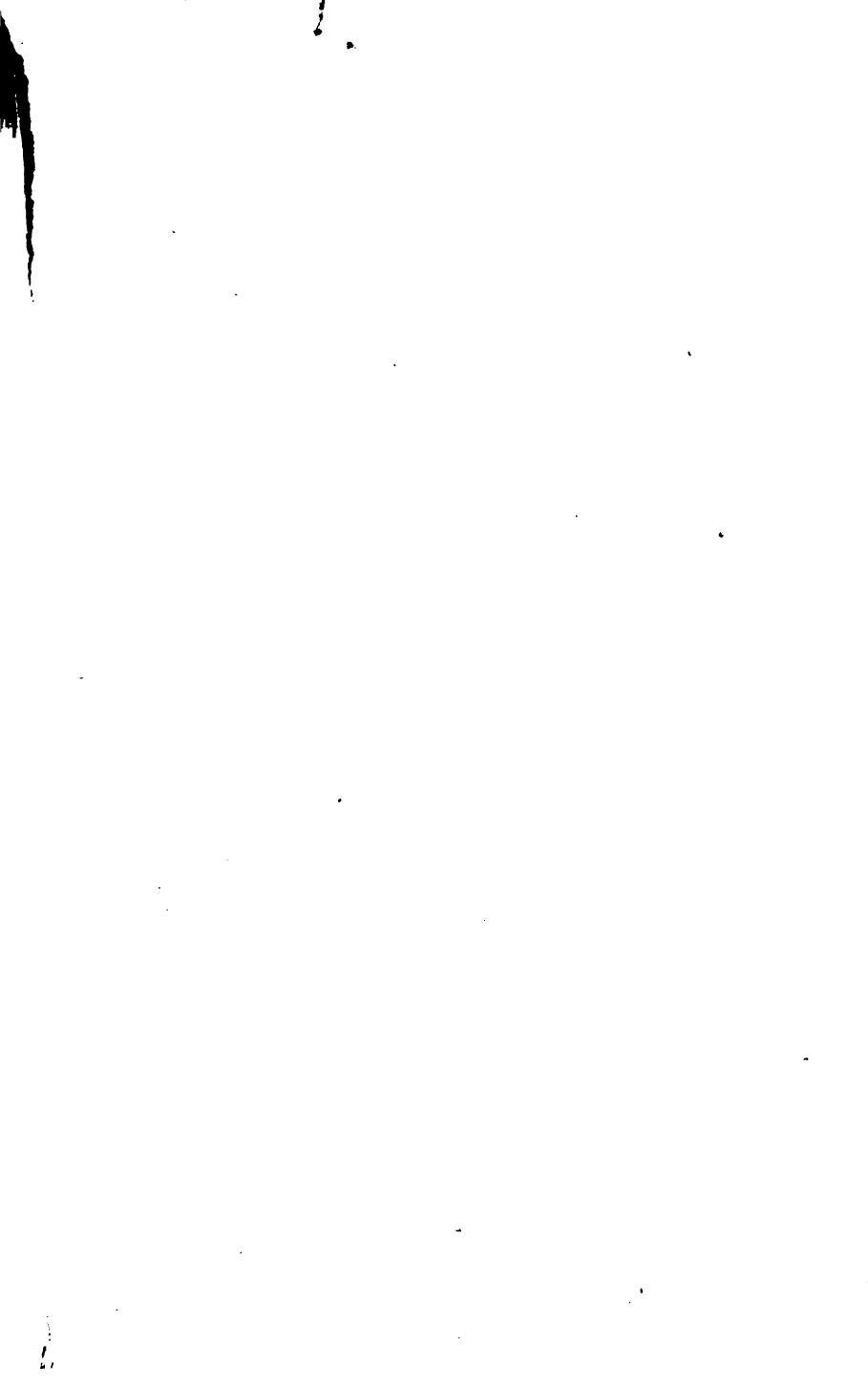
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A typical prosperous farming Japanese family of Florin, in friendly social relations with American neighbors.

THE AMERICAN JAPANESE PROBLEM

A STUDY OF
THE RACIAL RELATIONS OF THE EAST
AND THE WEST

BY

SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A., D.D.

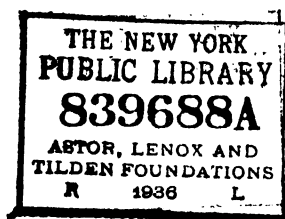
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PSYCHIC AND SOCIAL," "THE WHITE PERIL IN THE FAR EAST,"
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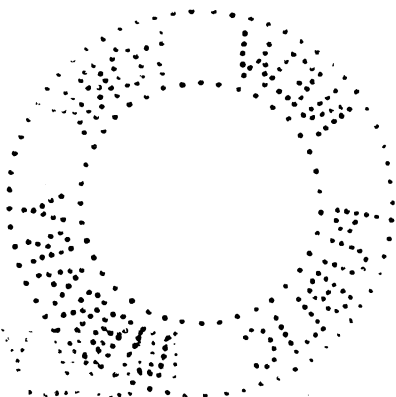




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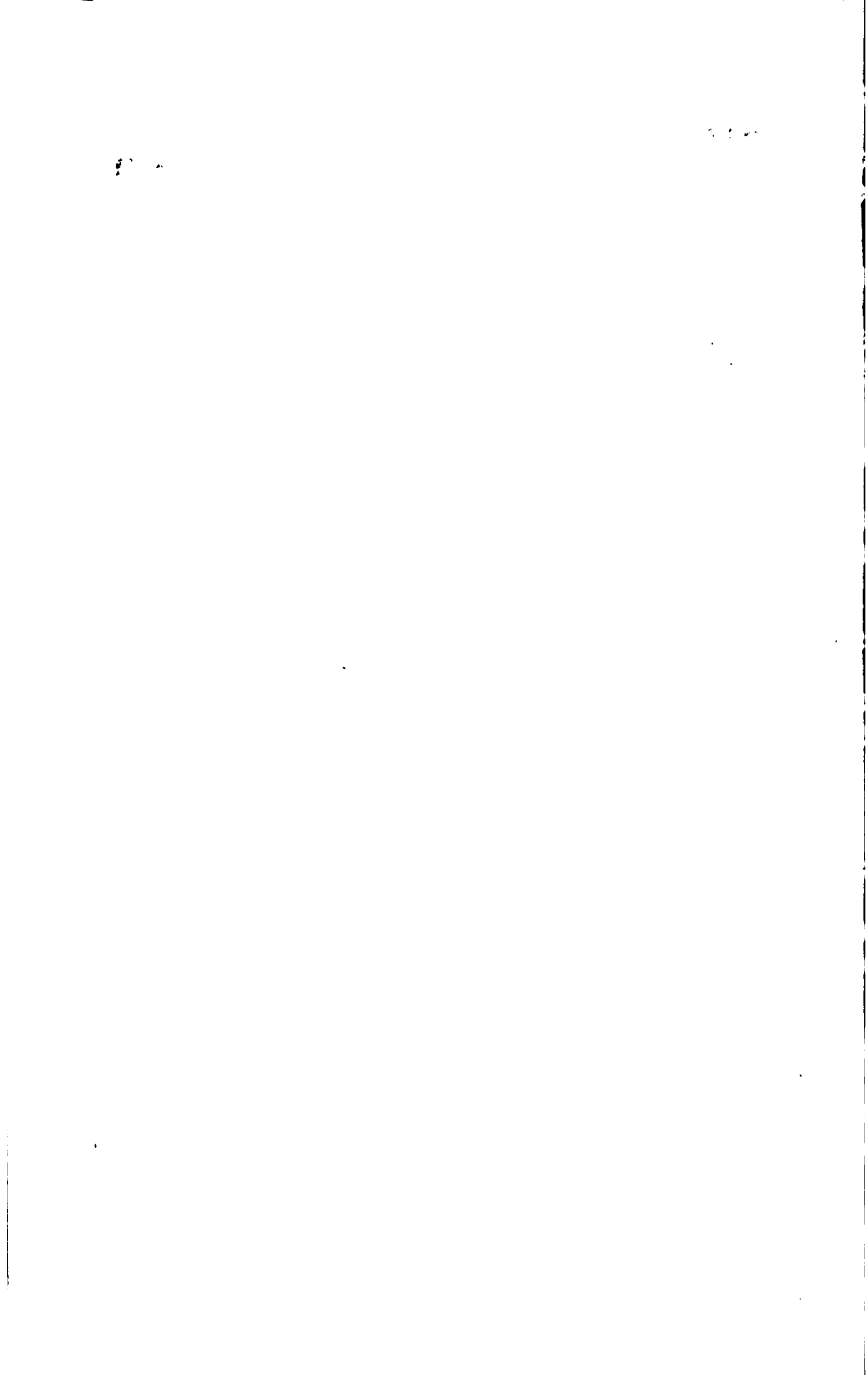


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TO
ANDREW CARNEGIE
AND THE HOST OF LOYAL WORKERS
FOR UNIVERSAL PEACE AND
THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE EAST AND THE WEST
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

RECEIVED FROM C. O. MAY 1936



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**THE
AMERICAN JAPANESE PROBLEM**

THE morning star leads forth the dawn,
But with the coming of the sun
The morning star hath paled and gone,
And never is their glory one.

From nature's world our symbols come.
Heaven's stars are on this flag unfurl'd,
On that the dazzling, rising flame
Of sunfire on the Orient world.

They float together now on high.
The Stars still lead as they have done
Yet pale not from the morning sky
Before the glory of the Sun.

And these may light the Greater Day
If so we will, if so we try. . . .
Columbia, choose the nobler way!
Through thee the sunder'd worlds draw nigh!

PROPERTY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE
AMERICAN JAPANESE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

AMERICA'S ORIENTAL PROBLEM

WHITES in America number approximately ninety millions, Asiatics less than one hundred and fifty thousand; yet we face an ominous racial situation.

California, fearing an overwhelming Asiatic invasion, demands complete exclusion of Japanese as of Chinese and desires vast military preparations. Japan, on the other hand, for sixty years guided by America's friendship, conscious of faithful administration of the "gentlemen's agreement," and deeply wounded by California's recent antialien legislation, claims of us equal rights for her citizens with those of other lands and demands courteous international treatment.

Misunderstanding, foreboding fear, humiliating treatment, on the side of America; disappointment, indignation, resentment, on the side of Japan; such are the mutterings of a threatening international storm. This statement, however, presents but a superficial view. The real problem is deeper and

has many phases. It arises out of the enormous differences between American and Asiatic civilizations. This difference is variously described. United States Senator Perkins, in a speech on the proposed Chinese exclusion law said in 1902: "Personal freedom, the home, education, Christian ideals, respect for law and order, are found on one side; and on the other traffic in human flesh, domestic life which renders a home impossible, a desire for only that knowledge which may be at once coined into dollars, a contempt for our religion as new, novel and without substantial basis, and no idea of the meaning of law other than a regulation to be evaded by cunning or by bribery."

Mr. Walter MacArthur, of San Francisco, says: "The Asiatic does not think in terms of Caucasian morality. He lacks the racial impulse that makes for the maintenance of a high standard of living. He is a menace to free government because he lacks the inspiration of personal liberty."

In a word, from the American point of view, everything in Asiatic civilization goes by opposites. Their language, logic, science, and medicine are folly to us and ours to them; their morals are often our crimes and their religion our superstitions. Many of their national and family customs, political, scientific, and philosophical conceptions, and moral and religious convictions are diametrically opposed to ours. It is simply impossible for us to understand

them, and of course they cannot comprehend us nor enter really into our life. So thinks the average Occidental. And this is what Kipling is mistakenly supposed to have meant in his famous ballad:

“Oh, East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently,
At God's great Judgment Seat.”

But the problem of the East and the West is more even than this. Asiatics swarm by millions. For ages their struggle for existence has been inconceivably severe; they have developed big brains, extraordinary skill in farming, unlimited capacity for hard work, and incredible ability for living on little food. When they come over to America their industry and thrift are amazing; they underlive, underbid, and outwork us. In open competition the white man has no show.

It follows, does it not, that the Asiatic must be excluded from America? “The conclusion of the whole matter is that exclusion is the only alternative of race degeneracy or race war,” says Mr. MacArthur. So long as Asiatics stay in their own lands they may follow their own absurd ways of thinking and behaving if they wish to. Nevertheless, they must not be allowed to overturn our civilization nor be permitted to turn us into Asiatics by ruinous economic competition.

But what of the future? Japanese are learning all

the white man knows about science, industry, machinery, and warfare. China is following in Japan's footsteps. In a few score years they will have added all our special attainments and powers to theirs. Their factories will produce all we are now sending them, and where will be our commerce with the Orient? Worse than this, they will be able to manufacture what we use far more cheaply than we can do the manufacturing ourselves, and what will become of our industries? They will build and sail ships and capture all oversea trade.

Moreover, they will develop vast armies and huge navies which they will of course use against us to enforce their rights and even their ambitions, just as we have used our armies and navies during the past three hundred years in conquering the world. What possible defence has the white man against awaking and oncoming Asia?

These are the problems that white men are beginning to think they see. British America and California, Central and South America, New Zealand and Australia, South Africa, and Siberia, every land where the white man is dominant, is adopting the policy which Japan devised three hundred years ago—exclusion of the alien race and civilization.

But this is only one half of the problem, the half the white man sees. There is also the half the Asiatic sees. This, too, the modern man must know if he is really to understand the world-situation. How, then,

does the yellow man look at it? Very much as the white man does—only from the other side of the shield.

“We are an innocent, peaceful people,” they think, “wishing to be left alone. We have developed our civilization, the best and the oldest in the world. The aggressive domineering white man has recently begun to overrun the earth; he has destroyed many peoples, overthrown their governments, seized their lands, and murdered countless millions. He regards neither right nor heaven. Might alone is his god. We have never interfered with him, but here he is all around us holding his conquered lands with a mighty grip, demanding trade and an open door, and so-called rights, in our part of the world. His uncouth ways, his materialistic civilization and his strange beliefs, are dangerous to our ancient and noble life. It is true that at present we are weaker than he, for we have never believed in fighting. For war is neither the rational nor the right way to settle difficulties. But since that is his way and the only way he understands, we will learn his secrets; master his methods; reorganize our governments; establish army and navy; and introduce the instruments of Western civilization, adding all its good points to ours; thus shall we be able to resist his aggressions, maintain our independence and take our rightful dominant place among the nations of the earth. For we are inherently superior to the

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white man, not only in economic efficiency, but in brain power, general culture, and moral character. And what a shame it is that the domineering insolent white man has seized all the great unoccupied countries with their vast natural resources, and selfishly holds them for himself, while we who constitute more than a half of the world's most cultured peoples are cooped up in these limited lands. Surely the white nations must finally be forced if necessary to grant us that equality of opportunity and courtesy of treatment which they accord one another."

Such, in briefest terms, is the dramatic, nay, the tragic, situation to-day. California, British Columbia, Australia, Japan, and India are beginning to be conscious of the vast race problem now arising between the East and the West. China is still ignorant, but will not remain so many decades longer. A new era in human history is thus beginning. Great nations, races, and civilization, for ages self-sufficient, proud, ambitious, determined, are now face to face. Shall mutual misunderstandings, suspicions, aggressions, resentments, indignation, both East and West, go on for decades, growing ever more acute, ending finally in fierce race warfare? Shall the eight hundred millions of Asia, united and armed with Western science and battle-ships, be pitted in race war against the peoples of Christendom? Or is there some better way?

The writer believes the Yellow Peril may be

transformed into golden advantages for us, even as the White Peril in the Orient is bringing unexpected benefits to those lands. The West needs the East as the East needs the West. Right treatment of Asiatics by white men at this juncture will surely avert the anticipated race collision. For this we need a new oriental policy. ✓

CHAPTER II

CALIFORNIA'S JAPANESE PROBLEM

FOR the attainment of an oriental policy at once rational and practical a study of the concrete situation in California is essential.

Japanese immigration to California has been going on for about twenty-five years. A summary statement shows the number arriving in the United States in the various decades:

1861-1870.....	218
1871-1880.....	149
1881-1890.....	2,270
1891-1900.....	20,826
1901-1910.....	62,432
Total.....	85,895

Making allowance for those returning to Japan, we find that the total number in the United States for 1900 was about 24,000 and in 1910, 71,000. The majority of these have, of course, remained in California. According to the census reports for 1890, 1900, and 1910, the number residing in the Pacific States was, respectively, 1,559, 18,269, and 57,628. The vast majority of these are in California, about 55,000, in 1910, and it is well to note that of these, according to the "Special State Investigation of

1909," sixty-five per cent were engaged in agriculture, fifteen per cent in domestic service, fifteen per cent in supplying the wants of the Japanese population throughout the State, and five per cent were officials, professionals, students, and others.

Californian opposition to Japanese immigration is based on experience with the above number of Japanese for the period of time indicated. What now are the specific charges made on the basis of this experience? They may be arranged in five principal groups—economic, political, moral, racial, and miscellaneous.

I

Japanese, it is argued, are undesirable immigrants because, being unmarried and being willing to live on almost nothing, they underbid and outwork the white man. After driving him out the price of wages is gradually advanced to a rate even higher than that formerly paid the white laborer.

They are also undesirable because they are willing to labor longer hours and under any conditions whatever, however unhygienic, thus lowering the standard of work and the scale of living. It is impossible for white labor to maintain the standard wage and the standard length of a day's work when brought into competition with the Asiatic. The only way, therefore, in which to maintain these is to exclude all Asiatic labor.

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Again, there are those who object to Japanese labor on the ground that the Japanese is too enterprising and thrifty. He is not content to remain a mere hand, but aspires to economic independence. He seeks to understand the business in which he is employed, and at the earliest possible date he sets up for himself, competing as a rival with those from whom he learned the ins and outs of the business. Being willing and able to conduct his business on a smaller scale of profits, he can easily undersell white competitors and in time drive them out.

Another form of economic objection relates to the failure of Japanese to keep up such property as they may acquire. Instances are cited in which Japanese lease city property. They do not give it proper care either in the way of cleaning or of repairing. Before long it begins to look shabby. The value of adjacent property falls; more Japanese buy it up, house by house, resulting in the same dilapidated appearance spreading to a whole section—the "Japanese quarter."

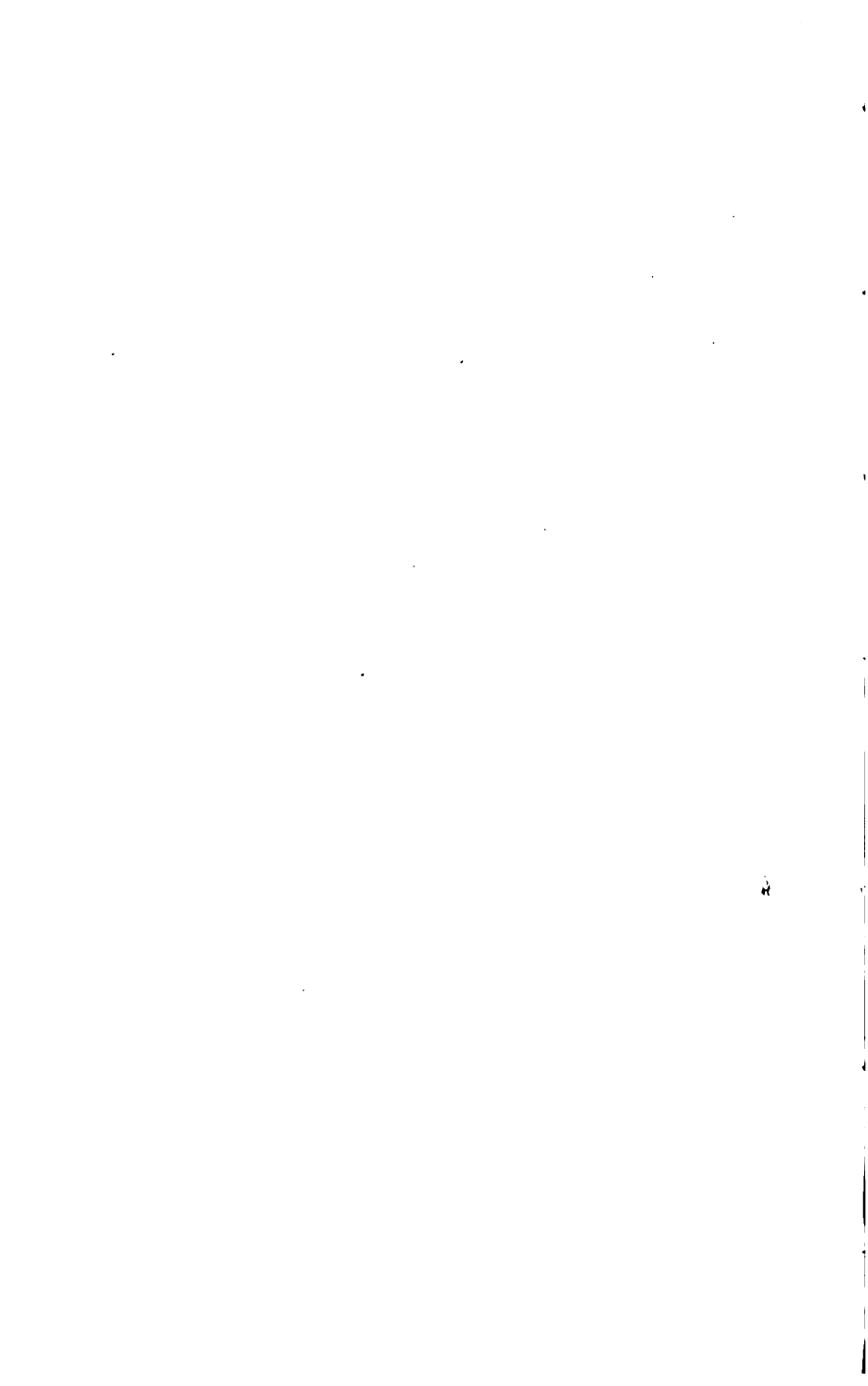
Similarly in regard to farm lands. A Japanese leases land at a fair rental. He deliberately impoverishes the land, being satisfied with but small returns, thus inducing the white owner to sell. Thereafter he farms with great skill. He employs large numbers of fellow Japanese, who live in a miserable shack, possibly with one woman to a gang of men, and in time secures splendid profits;



Japanese laborers on a strawberry farm in Florin. This illustrates the stooping work for which Japanese farmers are peculiarly adapted. White men find berry culture exceedingly irksome. Japanese labor accordingly produces 90 per cent of the berry crop in California.



The Americanization of Japanese farm labor is illustrated by this photograph. This strawberry ranch, formerly a barren field, has been brought to a high state of productivity by Japanese industry. It was used, however, by Mr. McClatchy with the misleading title "This farm, formerly owned by an American, is now the property of a prosperous Japanese farmer," which does not suggest that the American was glad to sell it at a good price; he made more by selling than he could by cultivating it.



but in the meantime his white neighbors have taken a dislike to the entire Japanese gang and refuse to associate with them. Ere long, as opportunity comes, the white neighbor is glad to lease or sell his land to other Japanese, even at a loss, and moves out. Thus it has come to pass that Japanese have gained possession of entire sections of some of the best farm lands in California.

A charge sometimes brought against the Japanese is that they employ only Japanese—they never give white laborers a chance.

And in trade they sell to one another at rates cheaper than those at which they sell to whites. This is, indeed, but one manifestation of a highly objectionable clannishness.

Some argue that it is important to preserve the natural resources for future generations of white men. To allow Japanese or other Asiatics to buy up vast areas is to deplete resources for these future generations.

II

Opposition to Japanese on political grounds is not often urged, yet occasionally it is.

The point of criticism is that Japanese take no interest or share in the political life of the section in which they live. They have no local pride, no desire to help make the locality better. They take no interest in their neighbors. They live quite inde-

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pendently of the surrounding communities, often, indeed, forming communities of their own, *imperia in imperio*. As one critic expressed it to the writer: "The Japanese do not make good residents and would not make good citizens."

III

The most serious and persistent criticisms, however, are aimed at the alleged Japanese lack of moral character.

A criticism, almost universal, is that Japanese do not keep their word; they make promises and break them without the slightest hesitation. A gang of workmen may be employed to pick an orchard on a definite contract. Oftentimes in the midst of the process a more tempting offer of wages is made elsewhere; at once the whole gang leaves and the helpless employer suffers great loss, for no substitutes can be found in time to save the crop.

Or the employer may be deliberately taken advantage of. When the gang has begun its work and it is evident that the employer is completely at its mercy, a strike for higher wages is made, which is, of course, successful.

Japanese boys in domestic service are said to be particularly irresponsible. They easily make promises which they as easily break. The suddenness, also, with which they leave—oftentimes without

even an hour's warning—is a cause of much complaint. "They will leave, without notice or consideration, on the slightest provocation."

Furthermore, the Japanese are vindictive; if they feel they have not been properly treated they commonly retaliate in some way that brings serious loss on the employer. Or, even worse, if they fail to secure a desired job, or contract, or a piece of land, they will find some way of injuring the American employer or owner.

Japanese, moreover, like Chinese, are inveterate gamblers.

Japanese are also charged with lack of all ideas of sex morality. "Prostitution is a most characteristic Japanese industry," says Mr. Chester Rowell. Houses of prostitution flourish wherever Japanese congregate. Japanese women are so subservient that they easily become prostitutes. Many a Japanese is supposed to make his living by the prostitution of his wife.

Japanese are also, it is alleged, quite untrustworthy in financial relations. Stores have generally ceased doing business with them except on a cash basis, for they have found that Japanese so often fail to pay for goods purchased on credit.

In short, Japanese "have no conception of sin and home" and "no moral convictions in regard to the sacredness of the contract, the sanctity of the home and the value of woman."

It is an interesting fact that in all these points, except those of gambling and sex morality, the Chinese are invariably cited as far surpassing the Japanese. "His word is as good as his bond." "He carries out his contracts; he does not strike for higher wages, even though his employer is at his mercy." "He never promises lightly, but when he has once given his word he carries out his promise to the letter." "He never retaliates."

IV

The belief is almost universal in California that Japanese racial characteristics are such as to render them unassimilable. Those who urge this point usually admit, however, that, all in all, the Japanese are not inferior to Americans, even in matters of morality. Such disputants are often ready to admit that exceptional cases of immorality have been exaggerated and generalized.

These contestants claim, however, that even though, for the sake of argument, Japanese may be allowed to be superior to Americans in every way, the sufficient ground for strict Japanese exclusion is the unquestioned fact that he belongs to a different race. He is brown; we are white; and this difference, they insist, carries with it such psychological, social, and civilizational differences that any attempt to live together is sure to be disastrous. The further

deduction is that the only hope of safety, the only means whereby the friendship of our two nations can be maintained, is to agree to keep apart, each living in the land God has given us.

This position is presented in many forms and with considerable variety of emphasis.

Japanese, it is stated, are so completely Japanese that they are always and everywhere Japanese. Contrary to the average run of mankind, every Japanese thinks of his race and country first and only later of himself. It is claimed that his patriotism, therefore, is of such an intense nature that it is absolutely impossible for him to expatriate himself and become a loyal citizen of another land; that, even if he should do so in form, it would be in form only; he could not possibly become a sincere American; he would still be seeking to promote the interests of his native land and his Emperor and would inevitably be a source of danger to us in case of war with Japan.

Moreover, Japanese are so different from us, it is asserted, that mutual understanding is impossible; their social customs are the very opposite of ours; they are stolid in appearance and stoical in spirit. In a word, they are "inscrutable" and "mysterious"; they are impelled by motives we do not and cannot understand, and doubtless we appear the same to them.

It follows, as a matter of course, that they are not

assimilable. They do not wish to become Americans and we do not wish to have them. Even though they may adopt our modes of clothing, housing, and eating, and many of our social habits, the change is only superficial and for a purpose; down in their hearts they are the same unchanging Asiatics, smiling and deceitful.

Because of all this, intermarriage between Japanese and whites is particularly obnoxious. How can oil and water mix?—or brown and white? The offspring is “neither Japanese nor American”; what is it but a fearsome monstrosity?

Specific illustrations are cited. It is charged that in such places as Vacaville and Florin Japanese have established entirely Japanese communities; they have possessed themselves of large consecutive areas and constitute so large a majority of the population that the children threaten to swamp the schools. In consequence, the white population is moving out, for they do not like the Japanese and do not wish their children to associate with them. This still further aggravates the difficulty, for it leaves compact Japanese colonies, with their national customs and Buddhist religion, cankers in our body politic.

V

In addition to the various objections to Japanese mentioned above is a miscellaneous group which also

must be taken into account by one who seeks to understand the question in all its aspects.

For instance, there are those who say that Californian opposition to the Japanese is really due to the bellicose and jingo spirit in Japan; that since Japan's two successful wars she has got the "big head" and fancies she can compel other nations to do her will by threats of military invasion; that it was the Japanese belligerent attitude toward America, when the first anti-Japanese bills were presented in the California legislature, that aroused Californian interest and gave the bills their vitality; that but for this the bills would have died a natural death.

Again, Japanese, unlike all other immigrant peoples, insist on taking a position of race equality with the whites. This the latter resent. They intend to be supreme and will brook no rival.

Every state and nation, some urge, has the inherent right to decide for itself who may and who may not become citizens. It is simply intolerable that any foreign nation shall claim the right of naturalization or immigration for its people. These are privileges to be granted—not rights to be claimed.

How unreasonable, say some, is Japan's claim for her people in America when she herself does not allow Americans to own land in Japan or even to become citizens. And still more self-contradictory is her position seen to be when we note that she

does not allow the coming to her shores of laborers from other lands. Has she not repeatedly exported Chinese coolies?

Another argument urged by some is that it would be folly to adjust our laws so as to admit of Japanese naturalization, seeing that the Japanese Government permits no Japanese to expatriate himself. Naturalization as American citizens is neither desired by individual Japanese nor allowed by their government.

Objections to Japanese immigration and especially to naturalization are raised also on grounds of our own incapacity. It is urged, for instance, that Americans do not know how to deal justly with any people of another color. The American Indians and the negroes are always cited in this connection. It is therefore unwise, they urge, to admit the Japanese, especially in view of the fact that they have behind them a sensitive, warlike, aggressive people and a strong government which will surely resent any injustice inflicted by Americans on Japanese in this land. Moreover, unlike other foreigners, "Japanese insist on converting every difficulty in which they become involved into an international affair." "Their sensitiveness constantly tends to magnify the smallest provocations into international issues." It is also urged that free immigration will be the final issue of naturalization. Once let in the camel's nose and only time will be needed to see the entire body forcing its way in.

And, finally, there are those who urge the mere fact of race antipathy or prejudice as sufficient ground for Japanese exclusion. This, it is said, is a fact, and a fact of great importance regardless of the question whether or not the grounds stated for that antipathy are adequate. As a matter of fact, feelings precede judgment. We dislike a man or a people and then hunt for facts, or invent them, by which to justify that feeling. Whether or not, therefore, the facts adduced are true or adequate, the fact undoubtedly remains that whites dislike Japanese. This being the case, it is highly undesirable to allow them to come to our land as permanent residents.

Such are the main reasons urged by different classes of Californians for the exclusion of Japanese from this country and in justification of recent legislation. Those who urge exclusion commonly state that opposition is practically universal. They deny that it is confined to "labor-union" men or to any particular class. The universality of the opposition is, therefore, urged as an evidence of its validity.

California's opposition to Japanese immigration, moreover, is not a sudden antipathy. It is the heir of decades of antipathy to Chinese. It has frequently found open, and sometimes violent, expression. Anti-Japanese legislation has on several occasions been restrained only by the remonstrance of the Federal Government.

Yielding to the suggestion of President Roosevelt, Japan entered upon the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" in 1908, in accordance with which, since that date, passports to the United States have been given to no laborers. During the years from 1909 to 1912 the excess of departures over arrivals, according to the statistics of our immigration office, was 6,664. Anti-Japanese Californians, however, are by no means satisfied. They hold that this arrangement leaves to Japan the decision of a question which we should decide for ourselves, namely, who shall and who shall not come to our shores. They say that we need, therefore, a Japanese exclusion law like that which excludes Chinese, and that since such an exclusion law would not meet the difficulty created by the presence of those Japanese now here, steps should also be taken to make it more and more economically unprofitable and socially unpleasant for them to remain, thus inducing them ultimately to depart entirely from our shores.

In pursuance of this strong anti-Japanese policy in the recent session of the California legislature, thirty-four bills were introduced proposing to curtail and hamper in various ways the industrial and economic opportunities of the Japanese in California. The single relatively innocuous land bill finally passed by no means satisfies anti-Japanese agitators. There is every reason to anticipate, in the next session of the California legislature, bills

still more drastic and still more skilfully devised looking in the same direction. Unless some radical change takes place, anti-Japanese feeling is not likely to be satisfied nor cease from aggressive activity until the Japanese are practically driven out of California or sink to a negligible quantity.

This exclusion policy, however, partly because of its aim and partly, also, because of the spirit and the manner in which it has been carried on, is keenly resented by the entire Japanese nation. Japan feels that such legislation is not only in conflict with established treaty rights but is also a humiliating affront to her dignity as one of the sister nations. It also contradicts the policy of mutual friendship solemnly pledged by the United States when she first knocked at the doors of Japan sixty years ago, and in response to which Japan opened those doors which had been closed to all the nations for over two hundred and fifty years.

The first article of Japan's first treaty with a foreign people, that with the United States in 1854, is as follows: "There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places."

Here, then, is a serious situation; on the one hand, California, conscious of an evil which she believes

threatens to reach vast dimensions if not radically and promptly dealt with; and on the other, Japan, a nation with which America secured and has maintained exceptional relations of helpfulness and friendliness, deeply wounded, yet earnestly desiring the maintenance of the historic friendship on a basis of dignity and mutual profit.

This, in briefest terms, is the problem that demands an early solution, the task that awaits wise co-operative statesmanship. For it is a difficult, delicate, and intricate problem. Both sides have their measure of truth and right. The problem is how to harmonize these real and apparently conflicting rights and interests. How is it possible to grant what California so insistently and rightly demands and at the same time to secure to Japan what she demands with equal insistence?

The case, however, is not as hopeless as it seems. If each side can be brought to recognize the difficulty which confronts the other and will look the whole problem squarely in the face in all its various aspects, with readiness to learn new facts and to see that there has been mutual misunderstanding, some solution can surely be found mutually satisfactory.

Japan, on the one hand, must recognize that the California contention rests both on actual experience and on well-established principles which cannot be surrendered. On the other hand, California must

recognize that Japan, too, has a case which rests on well-established principles.

From the standpoint of his acquaintance with both California and Japan, the writer sees that while there is right on both sides there is also considerable mutual misunderstanding. Few Californians know either the Japanese who are here or the nation yonder. This, however, is not strange in view of all the circumstances. Indeed, anything else has hardly been possible. And, in the same way, both the Japanese who are here and those in Japan are, as a rule, profoundly ignorant in regard to many important characteristics of America and of California. But this, too, is not strange in view of all the circumstances.

The chief reason why this problem is so difficult is exactly this mutual ignorance and consequent dislike and mistrust, and the contention is not without reason that on this ground alone should the races be kept strictly to their own shores. Such a policy, however, is absolutely impossible in this stage of the world's development and it is, moreover, undesirable. The East needs the West and, unfamiliar with the thought though the West may be, the West needs the East.

The true policy, accordingly, is first of all one of education. Japan and the Japanese must really learn to understand America and especially California. Those Japanese who come here must make

every effort to learn and adopt American modes of life and work. They must seek to become Americans. Californians, on the other hand, must get rid of mistaken ideas with regard to the Japanese. They must be ready to learn the facts in regard to that people whose divergent evolution for thousands of years has made them so different from us. This difference is not to be denied nor the difficulties that arise from it ignored; but neither is it to be exaggerated; and special effort should be taken not to introduce imaginary difficulties, due to *a priori* theories of race nature and non-assimilability.

So intricate and many-sided is the problem raised by the Japanese in America that it has seemed necessary to analyze its various elements and aspects somewhat minutely in the following chapters; for it is of the highest importance that both Japanese and Americans should contemplate steadily and comprehensively the many factors involved. We must take deep soundings in this new ocean on which the nations are embarked. The fundamental traits of our respective civilizations are involved and must be clearly recognized and widely proclaimed. So, too, must the general principles disclosed by the modern sciences of biology, psychology, and sociology.

But education is not enough. Something more is needed. Both Japan and the United States should undertake definite activities, promoting international good-will and more adequately adapting gov-

ernmental machinery to the new world-situation. Suggestions, however, on these matters are deferred until the entire situation has been more carefully studied.¹

¹ Inasmuch as this volume has been prepared for American readers, material calculated to help Japanese do their part in the solution of the problem is excluded from this work, but will be embodied in a separate volume to be published in the Japanese language.

CHAPTER III

MISUNDERSTANDINGS, EXPLANATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

WE have stated at their strongest California's objections to Japanese immigration. We must now take up the more difficult task of estimating the accuracy and adequacy of the average American judgment of Japanese and of Asiatics generally; for the nature of the desirable oriental policy will depend on our conception of the actual realities of the situation and also of the capacity of Asiatics to become American.

In this chapter and the next we shall study the assertions of Japanese undesirability for economic, political, and moral reasons, deferring to later chapters the more fundamental problems of assimilability. There seems to be wide-spread misunderstanding. Both Japanese and Chinese appear much less undesirable when the actual facts are better known and their real conduct interpreted in the light of their history.

Japanese are regarded by many as undesirable immigrants on strictly economic grounds.

These economic charges are so persistent and

varied that only an exact and comprehensive statistical investigation suffices to show both their truth and their error. Fortunately, the State of California itself has conducted such an investigation, an appropriation of \$10,000 having been made for this purpose in 1909. Much to the surprise of those who had inside information, the report proved unexpectedly favorable to the Japanese. No appropriation, however, was made for its publication. Some assert that it was purposely suppressed. We are, accordingly, dependent for our knowledge of its contents on a brief "Summary for the Press" furnished by J. D. Mackenzie, Labor Commissioner, May 30, 1910.¹ As it is impossible, advantageously, to condense further the material there summarized, the entire summary is reproduced in the Appendix, to which the reader is asked to turn before reading further.

It is doubtless true that at the beginning, when Japanese immigrants first entered the labor market, their wages were lower than those of whites and it is quite likely that, in some cases, white labor was driven out by Japanese. As a rule, however, Japanese took the place of vanishing Chinese. To-day there is more work than workers, either white or brown. According to the "Summary," Japanese

¹ Portions of the statistical tables were subsequently published in the Biennial Reports for 1911 and 1913 of the State Department of Labor.

farm-hands were earning, in 1909, better wages than white men engaged in the same work and, strange to say, Japanese employed by Japanese received higher wages than those employed by white men! The fact is that Japanese have proved their superior fitness for certain kinds of farm work and are consequently in large demand, whether employed by Japanese or by white men. It is doubtless true that Japanese, having learned from white men successful methods for advancing their wages (namely, by strikes), have at times taken advantage of these methods, especially when they have observed the helplessness of employers. This is, no doubt, reprehensible; but it is a fault not peculiar to Japanese, nor is there reason for condemning it in Japanese and extenuating it in the case of other races. But it is also altogether probable that the number of such cases has been largely exaggerated, which would be quite natural on the part of those who have suffered.

That Japanese workers are willing to toil for longer hours than the white man and that they put up with unhygienic conditions is doubtless true. In Japan long hours of toil are the rule, from sunrise to sundown on the farms, and in small shops and factories from five or six in the morning till nine or ten or even eleven at night. It would not be strange, therefore, if, in their relative poverty and ambition to acquire a competence as soon as possi-



Mr. Taketa's ranch in Florin. He was among the first Japanese to settle there, buying 30 acres at \$35 an acre and paying for it in five years by raising strawberries. He then bought twenty acres more and erected the house, the barn, and finally the tank-house. His pretty front yard has a lawn, choice roses, and a fountain. In 1911 Mr. Taketa, who has a California high school education, became agent for the New York Life Insurance Co., and later local agent for an Electric Power Co. He possesses the best automobile in the section. Recently he attended the annual convention of the New York Life Insurance Co. at Hot Springs, Va., and was made a vice-president. His Japanese wife speaks English fluently and he has three children.

ble, Japanese in America should readily accept the hours of labor usual in Japan.

That a workman, moreover, should have the right to demand wholesome conditions of labor was a thought almost unknown to Japanese in their native land until modern times. This is an idea purely Western and modern at that. And it is to be noted that the average Japanese laborer has as yet little idea as to what conditions are hygienic. Such knowledge is, indeed, a modern acquisition even in America.

Now, the readiness of Japanese to work long hours and in unhygienic conditions does raise a serious question; for unscrupulous employers, both Japanese and American, can take advantage of this willingness and thereby put the white laborer at an economic disadvantage. Surely no American desires to see a white man forced to labor according to the standard of Asiatics in Asia nor even to see an Asiatic here so laboring. Does not the solution of this question, however, consist in the enactment and enforcement of stringent legislation in regard to these matters, so that no one, Asiatic or American, shall be allowed to labor longer than the legal number of hours per day or under unhygienic conditions? In other words, laws can be passed which shall prevent Asiatic competition from forcing down, in the ways indicated, the wages of white workmen and their scale of living.

As for the charge that Japanese farm labor competes successfully with white labor in raising certain specific kinds of crops, the charge appears to be well substantiated by facts. But instead of reaching the conclusion that Japanese are driving white labor out and should, therefore, be excluded from the country, careful examination shows that to a large degree the Japanese worker is fitting himself well into our agricultural system. Japanese have largely taken the place of Chinese in farm labor; they have also made possible developments in berry, lettuce, celery, and kindred crops, which white labor alone would never have allowed. In point of fact, as a whole they are developing uncultivated lands and carrying on forms of agriculture which would remain largely undeveloped if left to the whites. The investigations of the Immigration Commission, no less than those of the Special State Investigation of 1909, have proved these matters conclusively for those who are willing to take the time for the study of the elaborate reports of these commissions.

It is no discredit, moreover, to the Japanese that he is thrifty and enterprising, that he wishes to rise from the status of a dependent day-laborer to one of independence, himself employing labor. This, so far from being a disqualification, rather proves his fitness to become an American citizen. We want industrious, ambitious, and enterprising laborers.

Only partly true is the charge that Japanese fail

to keep up property leased or bought. It may be brought equally against all immigrants, whatever their race. Moreover, the reason in the case of leased property is not hard to find. Who would expend considerable sums of money on the up-keep or appearance of houses or lots whose lease runs only a year, or two, or three? This, however, is the condition of most of the property occupied by Japanese. They contemplate only temporary occupancy. And it is not to be forgotten that the amount of property owned by Japanese is still very small. The main reason, then, why property occupied by them is run down is because the American owners themselves are not willing to expend the amounts necessary for its up-keep.

As a matter of fact, the up-keep of those pieces of property which have come into complete Japanese ownership, and where the owner has also financial ability, is all that can be asked. Many concrete cases could easily be cited in Oakland, Los Angeles, and elsewhere.

But another consideration should not be overlooked in this connection. On account of California's treatment of Japanese for many years, there is a sense of insecurity among them. They do not know how long they will be allowed to remain. One Japanese replied to my question that he was expecting to stay here all his life unless "persecution should arise." The very refusal, then, of California to give

Japanese welcome and citizenship may be regarded as one of the contributing causes for that appearance of property which is the object of this criticism.

Not otherwise is it in regard to the appearance of farming districts leased or owned by Japanese. The neglect of tenant farms is notorious the world over. Old and New England are quite familiar with it. Charges on this score, therefore, have no special weight as reflecting on Japanese racial character. On the contrary, the appearance of those farms which they own, in fee simple, indicates that they are exceptionally good and desirable farmers.

That Japanese employers hire only Japanese laborers is not strictly true. Mr. Shima, for instance, the "Potato King" of California, employs whites for certain kinds of work. But, in view of the fact that Japanese farmers have taken up those forms of farming for which they are especially adapted, it is altogether natural that they should employ Japanese rather than whites who are not fitted for it, especially when whites are not to be had—even by white employers! And what more natural than that Japanese employers should employ Japanese laborers, whom they can understand and talk with freely, rather than white laborers, whom they can neither understand nor talk to! Anti-Japanese criticism of this kind is surely captious.

The statement that whites move out when any considerable number of Japanese move into a sec-

tion of a town or township seems to be partly, though not universally, true. It is not unnatural, however, for the language, customs, and life of the newcomers are strange, not to say disagreeable, and it is not unreasonable for the white to prefer that his children shall not associate closely with the stranger.

But we would emphasize the point that similar temporary consequences have followed from the immigration of any nationality into the United States—Italian, Portuguese, Russian, French, Hebrew, Canadian, and others. Many places, not only in New England and New York but also in the Central States, have had exactly the same experience. The difficulty in this case, therefore, is not due to the fact that the immigrants are Japanese but only to the fact that the Japanese are immigrants.

As for Japanese clannishness, this is beyond dispute; but so, too, is the clannishness of immigrants from any land—Greeks, Italians, Poles, Jews, yes, and even Scotch, Irish, and Welsh. We would, indeed, think the worse of them if they did not have a fellow-feeling and seek to help each other. But, of course, that degree of clannishness must be frowned on which leads any national group to take unfair advantage of others. That there is none of this among Japanese is not asserted; neither do we deny its reprehensible character. But we do contend that our own offish, not to say clannish, treatment of the Japanese promotes rather than diminishes

it, and also that with proper treatment of Japanese immigrants on our part this trait will be overcome, as has been the case with immigrants from other lands.

Critics contrast Japanese labor with Chinese, and in favor of the latter on the ground that the Chinaman comes to the ranch when he is wanted, does the work required, and then disappears from the district and gives no trouble. From the standpoint of capitalism this is, of course, ideal. The laborer is a "perfect machine." The employer has no care or responsibility for and no human relationship with him. There is no social contact, no danger of entangling social inconvenience. An unlimited supply of just such labor would please large farming interests; they could raise enormous crops and realize enormous profits with a minimum of human responsibility. But such conditions would produce a small class of great wealth and leisure, on the one hand, and a large class of servile labor on the other, ever kept in economic servitude and dependence. This, however, is a situation exactly contrary to the American ideal.

The Japanese, on the other hand, is not content to remain a servile laborer—a mere machine. He wishes to own the soil, cultivate it to its maximum, secure the full earnings of his labor and capital, and develop himself and his family to the extent of his ability. A majority of Japanese farms in California

are small, requiring for their entire care the work of only the owner and his family, with occasional outside help. This means intensive cultivation and the maintenance, per acreage, of a relatively large permanent population of independent families.

This, however, is far more in accord with our American ideal than with the capitalistic ideal. Of course, this would break up the large ranches, enormous estates, and princely mansions, whose owners luxuriously travel round the world in private yachts and automobiles, employing agents to run their ranches. But that is exactly what needs to be broken up if America is to be thoroughly democratic. If our whites are willing to learn, the Japanese can teach them intensive farming and can show them how a family can own and cultivate and make a respectable living out of a small tract of land. In comparison with the factory hand or city laborer, such a family is to be congratulated.

From the writer's standpoint, accordingly, this criticism of the Japanese is entirely a mistake. The characteristic objected to is one of the important proofs that the Japanese, in regard to this point at least, make desirable workers and would become excellent citizens. The more we have of just such independent labor, the more wholesome will be the agricultural development of America. One great bane of our entire business and agricultural effort is that the few who own the capital or the land wish

so to hold it that labor shall create large profits of which the owner shall take the major part. The Japanese farm laborer does not fall in with this capitalistic ideal; he fights it; he buys where he can or leases the land; this makes him a promising agriculturalist, one whose coming to the State might well be promoted and whose acquisition of suitable tracts of homestead land might wisely be aided. But it, of course, follows that he is criticised and opposed by capital, which does not like his ways. He is not an "ideal labor machine" like the Chinese. From the writer's standpoint, however, in this respect he far surpasses the Chinese.

That "Japanese do not make good citizens" is not to be wondered at, seeing that we strictly prevent their acquisition of citizenship. We deliberately hold them off. We say to them that we do not want them in our body politic, however they may qualify. We inflict upon them many an insult, not officially, of course, but through the spirit which we impart to our young people and the lawlessness which we do not repress; we make the entire body of Japanese in California feel keenly that they are offensive to us; we only tolerate their presence; and then we criticise them for not making good citizens! Is it any wonder that they do not take interest in the localities in which they live or seek to enter into its community life? To do so, they feel, would be intrusion. They, accordingly, deliberately live to

themselves, seeking complete social satisfaction in their own little communities.

This criticism, also, is highly captious, indicative of little reasoning, on the one hand, and of sheer race prejudice on the other. From my acquaintance with the people I am persuaded that if the Japanese were given a chance they would prove themselves splendid citizens alike in local, in State, and in national affairs.

Statistics prove that they have a relatively high degree of literary and financial ability, and a very small proportion of criminals and paupers; they help one another generously. They are ambitious to learn themselves and desire that their children should secure good education. In all these respects, they are good residents and would make excellent citizens.

Critics of Japanese in California should ever bear in mind two facts: first, that they are recent comers to our country, and, second, that most of the defects for which they are criticised, even though real, are equally real of labor immigrants from any country in Europe.

The subject of Japanese business morality is one of special difficulty. Wholesale condemnation is easy, but, as a rule, highly unjust. For a real understanding of Japanese moral character and life, many factors must be considered; yet the ordinary American has not the patience to consider them. To him the matter appears so simple that any effort at ex-

planation seems like quibbling. A lie, he says, is a lie; stealing is stealing; failure to keep one's promises or to carry out a contract is a flat moral failure; explanation only makes matters worse.

It is nevertheless true that many facts should be known by one who would really understand the Japanese either here or in Japan. Whoever will patiently and sympathetically study these problems from the standpoint of Japanese social, economic, and political history will find many important illuminating factors.

In the first place, Americans need to appreciate the fact that in regard to this matter as well as others there is much exaggeration. Sweeping generalizations of brilliant imaginative writers please the readers and remain in their memory. A story, for instance, is widely current that Japanese are so untrustworthy in financial matters that all banks in Japan employ Chinese cashiers; some go so far as to say that all important bank offices are filled by Chinese! The fact is that no Japanese bank dealing exclusively with Japanese has a single Chinese employee of any kind. Banks in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, where there are large Chinese populations, have Chinese clerks—especially banks whose head offices are in China, such as the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. But, as a rule, these are foreign, not Japanese banks. For twenty-five years I have dealt with Japanese banks in several interior

cities and have never seen a Chinese clerk. Wide inquiry among bankers confirms my own experience. Yet travellers, seeing Chinese clerks or cashiers in one or two banks in Kobe and Yokohama, generalize their experience and assert the slander as to Japanese business untrustworthiness, basing the assertion on "personal knowledge."

Another popular instance of extraordinary exaggeration regarding Japanese banking morality is cited by Mr. W. V. Woehlke in his brilliant but fallacious article in *The Outlook*, May 10, 1913. Speaking of Japanese business success, he asserts that a large measure of it was "due to the low standard of business ethics that is a distinguishing mark of many of the Japanese. . . . In the Spring of 1909 for instance, twenty Japanese banks [in California] accepted deposits from white and yellow men. At the end of the year all but three were closed, and examinations of the wrecked institutions revealed that they had been plundered by every trick and device known to the shrewdest and crookedest promoter. Simultaneously with the downfall of the banks scores of Japanese merchants, individuals and firms, hastened to the referee in bankruptcy, thus forestalling any attempt to force repayment of loans made to them by friendly directors of the defunct banks."

This statement by Mr. Woehlke was so definite that I took pains to investigate the facts. I learned

from the State banking department of California that there never had been more than seven Japanese banks in California, of which three are still doing business, the Yokohama Specie Bank, having an annual business of \$2,073,086 (June 14, 1912), the Nippon Bank (\$94,244), and the Industrial Bank of Fresno (\$49,594). "The Kawakami Brothers Bank went out of business some months ago paying its depositors in full. The remaining three banks were closed by the Superintendent of Banks in the year 1909 and are still in his hands for purposes of liquidation."

With the president of one of the unfortunate banks I became personally and favorably acquainted. Desiring to help his fellow countrymen, he made, it seems, more loans than the hard times warranted. No one, I was assured by competent Americans, ever regarded the bankruptcy as due to fraud. In regard to the other two banks I was told that the real cause of failure was the special exigencies of the season, causing several American banks also to fail at the same time.

I made special inquiry at Sacramento, which is the centre of a considerable Japanese population and where one of the three successful Japanese banks is located. I was told by Mr. A. Bonnheim, of the Sacramento Valley Banking Company, that they did business with many Japanese and on the same basis as with Americans. I asked if they could trust

Japanese as well as Americans. The reply instantly made was: "We trust nobody." Mr. F. W. Kessel, of the California National Bank of Sacramento, made practically the same replies.

These stories about Japanese banks in Japan and in California show how reckless, or at least careless, anti-Japanese writers often are when describing Japanese character. Their antipathy leads them to believe every evil suggestion. When I first began to read on the Japanese situation in California I accepted as trustworthy the statements of manifestly able writers. Investigation of many specific assertions, however, has led me to put a question-mark against every anti-Japanese statement which I have not myself verified. Race prejudice seems to rob even able writers of the ability to distinguish fact from fiction. Their very ability in framing brilliant sentences and striking antitheses aggravates their unreliability.

How many detractors of Japan ever knew that in old Japan there were private banking-houses which issued large amounts of paper money on their own credit, which paper circulated widely? This single fact shows how baseless are the stories asserting absolute lack of business morality among all Japanese.

While in California I tried in various ways to find facts in regard to the credit allowed Japanese by American merchants, with the following results:

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Large Japanese merchants receive treatment and credit like that accorded Americans; but wide-spread distrust is felt of small merchants and individuals who lack social standing.

A wrapping-paper dealer, having business over the whole Pacific coast, furnished me with the following facts out of his own experience of over twenty years: Sixteen Japanese firms have practically unlimited credit. About one hundred firms are allowed a monthly credit not to exceed \$30; they are, however, carefully watched. Loss has been incurred in the case of nearly four hundred Japanese firms, the amounts seldom running over \$15. Japanese firms have to be thoroughly vouched for before any credit is given "because they almost invariably try to beat us. . . . There are some Japanese whom we can trust absolutely, not only for their own credit but for information regarding prospective customers. . . . We never lose on a Chinaman." I judge that here as in Japan many small merchants and private individuals still have little sense of "business honor" and fail to appreciate the moral character of financial relations and obligations.

As throwing light on Japanese character and business ideals, consider also the following facts:

In old Japan, money and all money relations were despised. Merchants belonged to the lowest class, farmers and artisans ranking above them. Sons of Samurai or Bushi (warriors) were taught to have no

financial dealings whatever. Bushido (the Way of the Warrior) scorned business; many Samurai schools refused to teach mathematics on the ground that only merchants needed such knowledge. Even to this day talk about money is regarded as vulgar. Many a man is engaged and enters on a new position without hearing or uttering a single word as to the amount of his salary. Japanese, in giving fees in hotels and elsewhere, always wrap the money in white (*i. e.*, ceremonial) paper in order that the money aspect may not appear.

Of course these customs and ideals of old Japan are passing away. Commerce is no longer despised. Successful merchants take high rank in society. Commercial morality is being rapidly developed. The moral obligation adhering to contracts and promises is beginning to be widely recognized and emphasized. The entire Japanese people have entered on a new development of moral life because of their new social, industrial, and commercial activities and organization.

But the old scorn of money is not yet lost. Five years ago one of the members of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, on that famous official visit to Japan, thought he would have some fun with a group of schoolboys twelve to fourteen years of age as they came out of school. As they were looking at him intently, he put his hand into his pocket and drew out a fistful of coins which he threw on the

ground expecting the boys to scramble for them. To his amazement the boys looked at him in disdain and all marched off, not one stooping to pick up a single coin. Such an experience could be repeated in every school in Japan.

But in order to understand the average Japanese attitude to the numberless details of daily life, their temperament, social habits, and mental and moral character, the nature of Japanese feudalism should be known and appreciated.

We all know that Japan maintained the feudal system for a thousand years and carried it out more completely than any other land. It is but forty years since she adopted modern forms of social organization. Now, a feudal society develops forms of moral life quite distinct from those essential to a commercial and industrial society. The warrior is supreme; courage and loyalty, the virtues of the warrior, are highly developed. Hence came the far-famed Bushido, the "Way [do] of the Warrior [bushi]." Throughout society the superior and inferior are definite relations and demand definite types of conduct and ideals of right and wrong. In Japanese feudalism politeness rose to a position of esteem equal to that of courage. It controlled the relations not only of equals but of all the classes. Superiors were required to speak to and deal with inferiors in definite forms of politeness. The courteous treatment of inferiors by superiors is one of the unique features



An Americanized Japanese family of Florin. Mr. Yoshino's "flaming tokays" bring the highest prices in the Eastern market of any shipped from Florin. Should this house be called a "shack"?



of Japan to this day. The delicate courtesy of children to each other is amazing. Feudal politeness became one of the first social requirements. It dominated the language to such an extraordinary extent that even the grammatical structure was affected. In place of personal pronouns, honorific particles were developed and universally used, and nouns and verbs of varying degrees of honor or dishonor served delicately to indicate the person intended, you or he, your relative or his or mine. This universal social custom was most strictly enforced. Many a brave man lost his head merely because he was rude.

A necessary result of this universal social habit has been the development of what seems almost like an instinct to say the pleasant thing to the person addressed. More important than the making of verbally accurate statements was that of pleasing. This became a national characteristic and still powerfully affects the entire life of the nation. Japanese in conversation know how to make allowances for this habit and are *not, in fact, deceived thereby*. The one who speaks *has no intention of deceiving*, and he who hears knows that he must judge of that which he really wishes to know by other signs than those of the words actually uttered.

Of course, it is not contended here that Japanese never deliberately deceive nor tell conscious falsehoods. I doubt not that in this matter Japan is

about as other lands. But I do contend that the effect of Japanese feudalism was to develop habits of speech and of social relations which put politeness and pleasant manners above verbal accuracy, and that this was so allowed for that there was no deception. It often happens in the extraordinarily intricate social life of Japan that a man may verbally say the exact opposite of what he means and intends to convey, and the hearer fully understands both what is said and what is meant. Only the unsophisticated foreigner, who depends exclusively on the words, misunderstands the meaning.

Now, when Japanese come to this land, quite ignorant of our customs and of the stress we lay on verbal truth and the sacredness of the spoken word, is it strange that they say the pleasant "yes" when in their hearts they may mean the unpleasant "no"? Let us remember, too, that there is in Japanese no word meaning exactly "yes." The word usually translated "yes" really means, "I am paying attention" or "I hear what you say." The intonations and varying import of that word differ more than do our intonations of "yes."

Just here another feature of old Japan must be grasped; namely, her lack of time-consciousness. Formerly clocks were practically unknown. There was only the vaguest measurement of time. Meetings began when people assembled, and lasted interminable hours. But a change has come. Rail-

roads, schools, army and navy, clocks and watches are now beginning to impress on considerable portions of the rising generation the significance of time and the importance of speaking and acting accurately in regard to it.

I am, indeed, persuaded that the Japanese reputation for making and breaking promises is in part due to their relatively undeveloped consciousness of time. The average Japanese workman, desiring to please, easily promises to have a certain job done at the time requested by the white man, who puts much emphasis on the time element; the Japanese does not; he himself feels no such emphasis, hence his failure to keep his word and the consequent disgust on the part of the white man who soon discredits all the moral characteristics of a people who so frequently fail to keep their promises.

In point of fact this time-consciousness has reached an extraordinary development among Anglo-Saxons and Teutonic peoples, due, of course, to their modern, highly intricate civilization, in which machinery plays so important a part (everybody has a clock or a watch), while among Latin and Latin-American peoples, it is still largely undeveloped, resulting in substantially the same phenomena in custom and speech as in Japan. Spanish and South American indifference to time limitations and time promises is notorious. Americans abroad must adjust themselves to this characteristic of foreign peoples, but foreigners

working in America must learn to know and follow the American habit in this regard.

The fact is that Japanese have undergone what is from our standpoint an unbalanced development. In certain ways they are highly developed, in others they are still children. The effect of many centuries of feudalism has been to develop certain traits and to leave others quite undeveloped. No doubt, we in turn seem the same to them.

Without entering into the whole question of Japanese and American moral ideals, it is germane to our discussion to point out that, while occidental morality emphasizes fidelity to abstract truth and to rational and moral principles, Japanese morality emphasizes fidelity to persons in their respective relations of superior and inferior. In the feudal system each man had his fixed place in the family and clan, which relation determined automatically the treatment he owed to those above, around, and below him, and also theirs to him. Moral life consisted in fulfilling those duties of right treatment of individuals according to their respective stations.

In the West, on the other hand, where the industrial and commercial social order dominates and men's relations are largely fixed by mutual agreements as to financial matters by promises and contracts, morality consists in faithful fulfilment of these contracts. We do not absolutely neglect the

personal relationship, but we emphasize the contract relationship.

For instance, we do not think an employer particularly immoral who gets angry with his workmen and scolds them, especially if they are negligent or lazy, though we do not justify him if he loses control of himself to the degree of striking an offending workman. Yet even this we sometimes regard as justified by stupidity or insolence. Provided the employer pays his men the standard wages and keeps his promises and contracts, we regard him as a pretty good member of society.

Not so the Japanese. Perfect courtesy is the first sign of a good man; he must control his tongue and his temper and be polite, however he may feel within. Sexual laxity, petty lies, and even business deception, are light faults compared with impolite, intemperate speech and uncontrolled wrath.

This difference of moral ideals is the cause of many mutual misunderstandings and difficulties.

CHAPTER IV

MISUNDERSTANDINGS, EXPLANATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS (CONTINUED)

IN comparison with Chinese and European domestics, the number of Japanese is certainly large who have disappointed their employers by suddenly leaving without notice and oftentimes under exasperating circumstances. Chinese, it seems, take pains to provide a substitute; Japanese rarely. Nevertheless, the alleged frequency has been enormously exaggerated. Many housekeepers have described with beaming faces the fidelity, length of service, efficiency, and courtesy of their Japanese domestics, whom they prefer to those of any other race.

Much light, however, is thrown on this exasperating conduct of many Japanese domestics by the social character and emotional temperament of Japanese.

Most of the young men who enter domestic service in America do not belong to the servant class in Japan. They are, as a rule, ambitious and adventurous young fellows, seeking an education or opportunity for advancement. Many of them are

the sons of high-spirited Samurai. To expect them to make good "servants," year in and year out, like Chinese of the servant class or like negroes, is quite unreasonable. Domestic service is for them but a temporary makeshift. Moreover, such young men, inherently proud and self-respecting, instinctively resent such treatment as servants commonly receive in the West. American families where a servant is treated and spoken to as a menial are places where Japanese boys will not long stay. One good lady told me that she never had trouble with her domestics, for she knew how "to keep them in their places." Yet what she told of her ways and words satisfied me that no high-spirited Japanese boy would be willing to do domestic service there for any length of time. She was highly conscious of the superiority of the mistress and the inferiority of the servant, of whose rights she had little thought.

In some cases impossible situations suddenly arise. I heard of one boy who was ordered to kill a chicken, a thing he had never done and which his Buddhist training rendered absolutely abhorrent to him. The departing boy doubtless felt that moral wrong had been first committed by the employer, which absolved him from further responsibility and obligation. The mistress simply could not grasp his standpoint, nor he hers.

An important cause of rupture is, no doubt, the

failure of Japanese to understand completely what is said to them, or even the real meaning of what they themselves have said. They, indeed, use English words, but they are thinking Japanese thoughts. A conversation with the secretary of the Japanese Association of Oakland disclosed the fact that in the vast majority of cases the real cause of difficulties between Japanese and Americans is a mutual misunderstanding, due to ignorance of the English language or of American customs on the part of the Japanese. The American assumes that the Japanese employee has understood, and acts accordingly. The Japanese assumes that he has understood what was said and he acts accordingly. A collision ensues. Instead of ascribing the failure to misunderstanding, it is ascribed on both sides to moral delinquency. Lack of language makes it impossible to straighten the matter out and so it remains a permanent blot on the Japanese fair name.

A Christian lady once told me of her exasperating experience with a young Japanese woman employed to cook. When asked if she knew how to do this or that, her invariable reply was, "Yis, yis," whereas it soon turned out that she did not. One day the usual question was asked regarding a certain desired pudding, eliciting the usual reply, "Yis, yis"; a half-hour later the lady was driven to distraction by the sudden appearance of the cook in the drawing-room, bowl in hand, ingredients all mixed, with the

request: "Please show, please show." The short and simple explanation of the recurring difficulty between cook and mistress was that they did not understand each other's words. The cook did not mean "Yes, I do understand" when she said "Yis, yis"; she only meant "Yes, I'm listening." The poor cook was doubtless in even more distress of mind than the mistress over the failure of her mistress to tell clearly what she wished her to do.

The chief of a Japanese employment bureau once explained to me a reason for many of the sudden departures which would not readily occur to Americans. Japanese training teaches inferiors not to complain. In accordance with this national training, a "boy" puts up with this inconvenience, and that word or remark which he regards as an insult, and many little but vexing matters; he ever shows a smiling face in accord with Japanese etiquette, all the while bottling up his wrath and nursing his troubles in silence. In Japan the employer would in time see the signs of rising discontent or indignation, but the white man suspects nothing. At last the rising tide reaches the maximum—the bursting point. The "boy" simply can't stand it any longer. But true to his Japanese training, he cannot say the unpleasant thing he feels within; he can make no intelligible explanation. His only recourse is to leave, and so he leaves "very sudden," his mistress remaining in mystified amazement at the unaccount-

able behavior of the "boy" with whom she had been so pleased. She lays it up as the one striking immoral characteristic of the Japanese people. She reports the experience to her friends, and they to theirs, until it becomes proverbial that Japanese break their contracts "without hesitation or consideration."

A Japanese gentleman who has lived on the coast for over a score of years and has been in the thick of the contest for fair dealing with his people told the writer that, while some Japanese domestics get into good American homes, so many get into homes where they are not only imposed on and ill treated, but where they see such an unfortunate side of American life that he has come to the conclusion that it would be better for both Japan and America if all Japanese domestic service should cease. This statement throws no little light on the entire situation.

A particularly serious charge against Japanese, and one, by the nature of the case, relatively difficult to meet, is that of extreme sexual immorality on the part of men and unhesitating prostitution on the part of women. This charge imputes to Japanese, as a whole, a character which is by no means deserved. Moreover, "people who live in glass houses should not throw stones." This aphorism is particularly pertinent, for the "tenderloin district" of San Francisco (closed only since these

pages were written) is notorious. The daily press of San Francisco, moreover, discloses a state of affairs as to the relation of the sexes in certain classes of society in comparison with which the Japanese brothel is innocence. In this connection it is important to note how genuine have been the efforts of certain elements among the Japanese to close the brothels. The Japanese Government, likewise, has taken every precaution to prevent the coming to these shores of women who might become prostitutes. The awful revelations as to the terrible white-slave trade in America should make one cautious in charging the Japanese with being sinners above all others in these matters.

During the past eight years Japanese brothels in San Francisco have been reduced from twelve to three, and in Oakland from eight to one. While writing this chapter the three remaining brothels in San Francisco have been closed through the action of the immigration officers. If the people of California were particularly eager to rid themselves of this evil, it would not be difficult to apply the immigration laws which provide for the deportation of foreign prostitutes and foreigners engaged in commercialized vice. Respectable Japanese would gladly aid in the movement.

In regard to alleged habits of retaliation also, investigation shows that wide generalizations have been made from relatively few instances. I surmise

that sweeping charges are made because feudalism is known to have made revenge one of its fundamental principles. Such reasoning, however, fails to understand the feudal teaching. Retaliation was allowed and encouraged only in the case of murder of parent or feudal lord. In all other cases Bushido sought to repress this elemental tendency of human nature. It is safe to say that, all in all, Japanese to-day are as free from the spirit and custom of revenge as any of the peoples of Europe. Retaliation, as sanctioned by Bushido, is forbidden by the laws of modern Japan and would be severely punished. In regard to retaliation in business matters on this coast, details thus far learned indicate that some of it, at least, is not particularly reprehensible, namely, the blacklisting of certain American individuals whose treatment of Japanese labor had been found to be treacherous. The Japanese injured simply let their fellow countrymen know the facts, with the result that those white employers could secure no more Japanese labor.

One striking feature of charges against the Japanese is the all but universal assumption that the American employer is always right and that the fault lies exclusively on the side of the Japanese. This, however, is altogether improbable. The fact that even white labor has been able to secure fair wages and right treatment from white employers only by the formation of unions and repeated strikes shows

the character of some white employers. It is not to be lightly assumed that the treatment of Asiatic laborers by white employers, with whom they cannot speak an intelligible sentence, is altogether above reproach.

Employers of Japanese labor, who find them satisfactory, have told the writer that success or failure in their employment depends entirely on the treatment accorded them. Courteous treatment and kindly thought for their needs and welfare invariably insure good results. Japanese laborers quickly develop a feeling of personal loyalty and will do more than the contract calls for. Effort, on the other hand, to drive them produces resentment. The same point was made by a group of Japanese gentlemen with whom I dined one evening. In illustration of this point, I was told of a certain large ranch where some two hundred and fifty to three hundred Japanese laborers were employed each summer. For two or three years there was constant trouble in little things; friction and ill will were constantly in evidence; the laborers thought they were being treated like dogs and never worked happily. Not long ago the responsibility of caring for the laborers passed into the hands of a son, whose attitude was one of personal interest. When a train passed by he would *tell* the men to stop work and look at it, and then when it had passed, he would suggest to them to make up lost time. In many little ways he would

consult their convenience or pleasure. In consequence, they became loyal to him and he secured much better service from them.

This incident well illustrates the point made above, that Japanese relationships are *personal*. Workmen will do for one whom they regard as a friend what they will not do for one whom they regard as a mere industrial boss. In other words, they wish to be treated as men and not as machines or mere "hands." And is not this instinct human? Is not one of the underlying faults of our entire system of Western industry that we have reduced the relationship of workers and employers, of labor and capital, to a strictly mechanical, financial basis? And is not the real and only solution of our difficulties a return to the personal, the human relation? However that may be, the fact is that Japanese labor is not familiar with the Western method.

The sweeping condemnation of the entire Asiatic people and civilization made by United States Senator Perkins¹ would require an entire volume for adequate consideration. The writer has lived in Japan for a quarter of a century and does not hesitate from personal experience to pronounce all such sweeping assertions to be utterly mistaken. The assertion would be equally true if reversed, so far, at least, as the Japanese are concerned. That any sane or Christian man can pass such a universal

¹Chap. 1, p. 2.

condemnation on a people he does not know is beyond the writer's comprehension.¹

Verily, Japan is not perfect. Every sin in the decalogue may be found among its peoples, but what of America? May the pot call the kettle black?

Who, indeed, is capable of exercising impartial judgment? Who has sufficient knowledge of actual conditions to pass righteous sentence? Is any one competent, short of Omniscience?

The problem of Japanese assimilability is so complex that two chapters are devoted to its consideration. Here we take up the miscellaneous objections presented in the fifth section of Chapter II.

It is amazing that any one can seriously advance the proposition that Japanese chauvinism is the real cause of California's anti-Japanese spirit. Surely the anti-Japanese movement began in California almost as soon as any Japanese arrived on the coast, a score of years ago. The Asiatic Exclusion League has been in existence for many years. It would be far nearer to the facts to say that the anti-American feeling in Japan and the belligerent utterances of her irresponsible student and politician classes have been evoked by the repeated efforts in California at rabid anti-Japanese legislation and by the discourteous and unstatesman-like speeches made in support of the proposed legislation.

¹ The reader who wishes to study the characteristics of the Japanese more fully is referred to "Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic," by the writer, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906.

No doubt the blame for some of the exaggerated sentiments expressed on both shores of the Pacific should be placed on an irresponsible chauvinistic press. It is difficult to estimate the international harm done by purveyors of international news, who exaggerate and distort the news, if they do not actually and positively fabricate it.

To the writer, Japanese insistence on race equality is a commendation, rather than the reverse. This very quality renders him a desirable immigrant. For such a man and such a people are far more likely to make good American citizens than if their inherent tendency was to accept a servile attitude. We want, in this land, a people of free and equal citizens, not a ruling class at the top and a docile, servile class at the bottom. Considerable inquiry, however, shows that opposition to Japanese, because they claim to be the equal of white men, is limited to a small number; certainly it is by no means universal.

In a subsequent chapter we shall consider with some care the shortcomings of California's oriental policy. At this point it is pertinent to say that Californian criticism of Japan and the Japanese rests on profound misunderstandings as to what they desire. Japan does not ask for free immigration, nor is she demanding rights of naturalization for her citizens. Even though California desired large immigration from Japan, there is no reason to believe Japan would allow it, for she would keep her young

men at home not only for her army but also for the development of her resources in Formosa, Korea, and Hokkaido. Anti-Japanese criticism and legislation, which rest on baseless assertions and groundless fears, is, of course, weak and open to criticism.

The statement made by some that Japan does not allow foreigners to become citizens is entirely mistaken. Japanese law has allowed it for many years, and a number of Americans, Englishmen, and others have availed themselves of the provision.¹

Equally mistaken is the common opinion that foreigners may not own land in Japan. It is true that a general law relating to the entire matter was passed by the Japanese Diet some three years ago and still awaits Imperial sanction before it goes into operation. But for many years Japanese laws have allowed what is equivalent to ownership by foreigners. Several years ago the writer himself leased, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, a piece of land on which to erect a summer cottage. The entire payment was made in a single sum. In the lease is a clause to the effect that, in case the law of the land shall at any time during the nine hundred and ninety-nine years allow of fee-simple ownership, the change shall be made without further payment. Moreover, any group of foreigners incorporating under the laws of Japan has rights and

¹ Appendix.

privileges identical with those granted to a corporation composed entirely of Japanese citizens.¹

But, in considering the question of rights granted by Japan to foreigners for land ownership, we should not forget how small Japan is and how heavily peopled is her territory. Reciprocal privileges and duties can hardly, with justice, be demanded. Would any one expect of a man whose entire property did not exceed \$1,000 complete reciprocal relations with one whose property was reckoned by the million? To charge Japan with selfishness and inconsistency would seem to be but proof of one's own slight appreciation of the circumstances.

Yet this is not all. The crucial point is that Japan's laws are absolutely non-differential. She treats all nations with absolute equality. What she complains of in Californian legislation, and, of course, in that of other States also, which have passed similar laws, is that it discriminates. Asiatics are singled out for differential treatment in ways that are not only financially disastrous but that are racially humiliating.

The writer holds no brief for Japan, nor is he authorized to speak for her, nor has he ever discussed the question in Japan with any Japanese, whether a private citizen or a member of the government, yet he does not hesitate to say that the

¹ A full statement of the present Japanese laws relating to foreign land ownership and lease rights may be found in the Appendix.

Japanese Government would take into serious and friendly consideration any difficult problem experienced by America in connection with Japanese immigration if brought to its notice through the proper channels, and would generously exert itself to find a solution mutually satisfactory. His long experience in Japan has convinced the writer that no government and no people feel more deeply the humiliation and the pain of any discourteous treatment.

The statement that Japan allows the coming to her shores of no labor immigrants is correct. But the argument that therefore she should not object to American exclusion of Japanese laborers overlooks the point that her laws do not discriminate between nations, whereas the proposed American law providing for Japanese exclusion does so discriminate.

This, exactly, is the difficulty. The writer has heard Japanese gentlemen say that Japan has no objection to any legislation in America whatever, provided it treats all nations equally. Should a State, or the whole United States, pass laws absolutely forbidding landownership by aliens, Japan would not protest, because such laws would apply to all aliens equally. What she does object to is invidious discriminating legislation.

Those who argue that the rights and privileges of Americans and of Japanese in each other's countries should be reciprocal should consider the appli-

cation of this principle. In regard to naturalization, Japan already allows Americans to become full citizens of Japan with every right conferred thereby. Does not full reciprocity require that the same privilege be granted at once to Japanese in America? In regard to rights of landownership, as we have seen, Japan already grants such rights in large measure. Yet many States have laws discriminating against aliens who cannot become citizens. In both these matters Japan is more liberal than America.

As we have seen, it is no reply to say that Japan does not allow her citizens to expatriate themselves. Such an assertion only reveals ignorance. Nor is the reply pertinent that Japanese in America do not wish to be naturalized. From considerable personal inquiry the writer knows that many Japanese in California, as well as in Hawaii, would welcome the opportunity were it opened to them. They have been deterred thus far from making application because of the knowledge that it would not be allowed.

Among the frequent sinister criticisms of the Japanese is that, though they should become American citizens in form, in heart they would still be Japanese, loyal to their divine Mikado, and in case of war would surely fight for him, proving to be dangerous traitors. This is a bogie. They would behave like members of any other race. Much would



Children attending the Japanese school at Florin, where the teacher is the Japanese Methodist minister. The American flag suggests the spirit that is being instilled into the children. They attend the American school during its regular hours, going to the Japanese school at four P. M. in order to learn the Japanese language.

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depend on the occasion for the war—the circumstances leading to it, and the apparent justice or injustice of it. But this is a bogie in another sense, too. It is a purely academic question; one of pure theory, for there is not the slightest probability of war between these two countries. This matter, however, will be more fully considered in a later chapter. I believe there is no more danger of war with Japan than with England. Every prudential reason will hinder. It is no more thinkable that Japan should declare war on the United States than that the United States should declare war on Japan. There is good reason to think that naturalized Englishmen are still loyal Britishers. We should not ask more of Japanese than we ask of naturalized citizens of any other people. And it should be remembered that Japanese leaders in discussing this question frankly say that those Japanese who become citizens of another land should, in case of war, fight for that land, even against their own mother country.

That Japanese naturalized citizens would, for a time, be apt to vote together is not altogether improbable, for they would naturally have the same general view-point in regard to local and national questions. But their view-point would be one of the rightful factors entering into the situation. Moreover, the Japanese, in voting together, would not be unique. Do not even the Gentiles the same?—the Irish, the German, the negro, and even

the Jew? This argument, accordingly, has no particular force.

That many whites have a feeling of unreasoning antipathy to the Asiatic is indisputable, and this fact certainly demands consideration by those who advocate Japanese naturalization and immigration. Yet it is also true that many whites who have come into close contact with Japanese do not feel this antipathy; on the contrary, profound feelings of mutual respect and even of attraction are felt by not a few.

Moreover, most of those who are powerfully swayed by antipathy have had no real opportunity for knowing the Japanese in any deep or helpful way. There is no little ground for the belief that, under favorable conditions and with the passing of time, the present antipathy for Japanese will pass away.

A good illustration of the passing away of violent racial antipathy is Japan herself. For nearly three hundred years Japan was swayed by violent and most unjustifiable opposition to the entire white race. This was due, indeed, to certain unfortunate experiences. Thanks, however, to American diplomacy, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the wide travel of Japanese scholars and statesmen, and also to the lives of hundreds of Christian missionaries in all parts of Japan—who, through their knowledge of the Japanese language and their kindly

spirit and good-will, have been able to establish firm friendship with tens of thousands of Japanese, representing every social class—Japan's antipathy and distrust of the white man has been largely, if not wholly, overcome. They are ready, as a nation, to give every white man a chance. It now depends on his own individual character whether or not he becomes *persona grata*. And this is all that can be asked of any people.

All that Japan and lovers of fair play ask is that each Japanese in America be treated on the basis of his individual character, just as an Irishman or a German or even an American is treated, and not on the basis of a highly mistaken conception of racial characteristics, which springs from profound ignorance and accepts with absolute credence every vilifying and outrageous slander.

There exists, among certain classes of Americans to-day, an unreasoning antipathy to the Japanese. There is also, beyond question, some ground for antipathy in the conduct and life of many of the immigrants from Japan. But considerable investigation shows that the evils complained of are being corrected. As Japanese become Americanized, and especially if they are allowed to become full American citizens, the present ignorance with regard to them will give place to knowledge, and antipathy to respect and good-will. Time and patience on both sides will, of course, be needful. But if Japanese

antipathy for the whites has been largely overcome in Japan in less than two generations, by the adoption and consistent enforcement in Japan of a right national policy, surely the same good result will be secured in America by the adoption of a similarly wise national policy.

Viewed in a comprehensive way, however, including all the factors both on the side of the Japanese and on that of America, it is not at all strange that the situation is what we now see. It could hardly have been otherwise. Personally, the writer is not inclined to blame either side. Nor is it strange that many regard as hopeless the problem of reconciling the white and Japanese races. That such thinkers demand the strictest separation of Asiatic from American is natural. Such, nevertheless, we are convinced, is not the right solution. Wise statesmanship, with mutual patience and good-will along with sufficient time, will bring the desired solution and with it great gain to both East and West. The outlines of such a solution we suggest in our closing chapter.

Certain excellencies of the Japanese which Californians have generally overlooked should be noted before closing this chapter.

Although the lower class of Japanese may not have a highly developed sense of business honor and may be "sharp" in their business transactions, no one has charged them with petty thieving. Freedom

from this habit is a universal trait of Japanese in their home land, in this respect absolutely differentiating them from the Chinese. This is a moral development of no slight significance. The Japanese far surpass not only Chinese but also Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese in this respect.

Again, while Japanese are commonly believed to be extremely licentious, no one has ever attributed to them the crime so frequently charged to negroes, from which also other races are not wholly free. Here is an important fact whose significance they should ponder who charge Japanese with lack of respect for women and lack of sex morality. The fact is that Japanese are an exceedingly law-abiding people. No land probably has ever been so completely and minutely ruled as Japan. It is a widespread belief that what the government allows or provides for is right. This postulate has had deep influence in determining Japanese ideas of sexual morality. Rape is a crime we never hear of in Japan.

Another admirable characteristic of Japanese in California is the promptness with which they pay their rents. This may be because of their relative financial prosperity. There are practically no poor Japanese in California. But if they were really as unprincipled in money matters as they are commonly believed to be, we would certainly hear of efforts more or less successful to beat landlords out of rents.

Few people probably are as generous as Japanese in personal relationships. Their expressions of gratitude to those who help them or to those who are on terms of good neighborliness are frequent and striking.

In spite of the fact that sometimes Californians charge Japanese with living in filth—"they live like pigs" is what I have been told by two or three critics—as a matter of fact, Japanese as a whole are the most cleanly foreigners that come to America. If they are able to acquire a little property, especially if they have their own homes and wives and children, this characteristic, along with their innate artistic sense, becomes conspicuous. When contrasted with immigrants from other lands their superiority is truly remarkable.

After Bishop Brent had crossed the Atlantic in the steerage of a boat sailing from Naples he wrote: "I never quite gauged the menace from Southern Europeans until I came over with the indigestible mass on the *Caronia*. One has pity for them, but that ought not to blind us to the danger they bring to this country. In virility and decency the Japanese are infinitely beyond them."

Although Japanese are not, as a rule, teetotalers, yet they are exceptionally free from drunkenness, in this respect far surpassing laborers from European countries.

Japanese as a rule are as much opposed to inter-

marriage of races as are Americans. In his report to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1913) President Chas. W. Eliot calls attention to the remarkable fact that wherever the Japanese have lived in foreign lands they keep their race pure. "They do not intermarry," he says, "with women of any foreign race, affording thus a strong contrast to the white race when in foreign parts. The inexpedient crossing of unlike races will not be promoted by them in any part of the world." Does not the "picture-bride" movement in California substantiate this view? There are, of course, individual exceptions—and as many exceptional Americans as Japanese. But if this impulse to keep the race pure is in truth generally felt by them, then that which is probably the strongest single cause of opposition to Japanese in California is groundless—namely, fear of race intermarriage and mongrel offspring. Is not this race tendency on the part of Japanese one of their commendable traits?

Japanese are commonly believed to be widely infected with venereal diseases. A scientific investigation of this question is urgently needed. The only positive evidence I have been able to secure was from a physician who serves as examiner for the New York Life Insurance Company. The reasons for withholding his name are obvious. The facts he furnishes are as follows: During the past year he had examined more than one hundred Japanese appli-

cants for policies, none of whom had had so far as he could discover any venereal disease. Most of these applicants were heads of families and usually took out twenty-year endowment policies ranging from \$500 to \$5,000. (Query—are immigrants from other lands doing the same thing?) The Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in its report on the failure of vice segregation in that city to prevent the spread of venereal diseases states that not less than fifty per cent of American men are infected at some time with some form of the "red plague."

And, finally, a large number of Japanese in California have become Christians. This matter will come up again in another connection. But by way of illustration I shall speak of a surprise that I had in southern California. I was studying the condition of the Japanese around Los Angeles. After looking at one or two Japanese farms several miles from the city, I pointed to a house where a Japanese was working and suggested that we examine his place. The man gave us greeting when he knew my errand, told of his hopes—he was just developing a horticultural enterprise on a five-acre lot bought some three years before. He seemed perfectly ready to answer all my questions. To the query how long he planned to stay in America, he replied that when he came he expected to remain only a few years—nine years had now slipped away. Two years ago he had got a wife from Japan, and would doubtless remain here all his

life unless "persecution" should arise. I ventured to ask if I might look into his home. He took me right in; it was furnished like any middle-class American home, with chairs, tables, sofa, pictures, and bookcases. Except for the Japanese photos on the desk, I would not have suspected it to be the home of a Japanese. The young wife had evidently beaten a hasty retreat with her babe from the adjoining dining-room, abandoning the sewing-machine on which was a dress partly made.

But that which impressed me most deeply was the large reproduction of Hoffman's "Jesus in the Temple," finely framed, hung opposite the front door. Another large picture was that of Saint Cecilia at the organ. There were two bookcases containing a hundred or more volumes. Some of these were Japanese, but the majority were English. Some thirty or forty were religious books. I noted Van Dyke's "Gospel for an Age of Doubt," Drummond's "Ascent of Man," one or two commentaries, a volume on prayer, and others dealing specifically with the Christian life.

I asked the man if he was a Christian, to which he modestly assented—he was converted some seven years ago in Los Angeles. I asked him if he went to church. "Yes, to Los Angeles." As this was some nine miles distant, I asked how often he attended. "Every Sunday," he replied, "unless something specially interferes."

This ended my interview, but it was enough. It threw a flood of light on the whole Japanese-American problem. Here was a Japanese who splendidly illustrated what the race is capable of. He is as fit to become an American citizen as any that come from any race. He refutes in his home, in his life, in his ideals, and in his practices ninety-nine per cent of all the charges brought against Japanese immigrants. He is doing what anti-Japanese critics say is impossible. Under favoring circumstances, this instance may be multiplied many thousandfold. Since that time I have had opportunity to look into a number of Japanese homes, and in every instance the conviction has grown that no European race is likely to give us better immigrants or more promising prospective citizens than Japan.

CHAPTER V

FACTS ABOUT FLORIN

"THE classic instance of Japanese agrarian aggression is the town of Florin," says Mr. Macfarlane in *Collier's Weekly* (June 7, 1913). Many reputable citizens of California cited Florin as ocular proof of disastrous Japanese invasion, and urged me to visit the place. I accordingly did so and herewith record my results.

To give a picture of what I was led to expect, I take verbatim an article that appeared in the *Sacramento Bee* (May 1, 1913):

"THEY OWN AND CONTROL IT—ONLY ONE WHITE MAN IN BUSINESS IN COUNTRY TOWN ONCE A FLOURISHING COMMUNITY OF STURDY AMERICAN FARMERS—THEY COULDN'T STAND THE ORIENTAL AND HAD TO LEAVE.

"FLORIN, CAL., May 1.—Florin, California, is a town of Japs. It is 9 miles from Sacramento, the state capital, in the heart of one of the richest agricultural empires of the world.

"The railroad cuts the town in two. The main street runs for perhaps a half mile on either side of the railroad at right angles to the track. A few houses cluster together in groups on either side of this street, crowding each other closely. But for

the most part, the houses are scattered and far apart.

"Most of the houses are low, squatty, untidy, unpainted shacks. Those buildings that are not shacks were once occupied by white people.

"Their owners have long since fled, literally driven out by the little brown men who now occupy their premises.

"Less than one-fourth of its population of 500 are white; the rest are Japs.

"Florin has:

"Two Jap stores.

"One Jap barber shop.

"One Jap boarding house that furnishes meals for nine cents each.

"One Jap blacksmith shop.

"One Jap school, and one Jap shoe shop.

"The school, built for the children of white men, is now almost half Japanese. In one room there are 20 white children and 22 Japs.

"John Reese is the only white man who owns a store in Florin.

"'Eight years ago,' he said, 'Florin was a flourishing town. There were two hotels, three grocery stores, and a drug store here, all run by white folks.

"'Then the Japs came. Before that we had cheap Chinese labor—'bout seven dollars a week, a Chink would work for—but the Skippies (the name they call the Japs in the West) took the same jobs for 75 cents a day and the pig-tails had to go.

"'Then the Japs got to leasin' land on shares, an' before the white people realized it, they had control of the best farms. Now the Japs are buyin' land as fast as they can.

"'The Japanese have depreciated real estate in this neighborhood to about one-third of its actual



The house of Mr. and Mrs. Suzuki, Florin. Mr. Suzuki is secretary of the Japanese Association of Florin. Mrs. Suzuki, a graduate of the Tokyo Medical School, being the only physician in Florin, treats both whites and Japanese.



The house that Mr. Murai built with his own hands. He consented to be photographed with his family as he came in from the field. Are these homes "shacks"?

value. A Jap will buy a white man out for a big price. The white man who lives next to him doesn't like Mr. Jap for a neighbor because he lives like a pig. He is forced to sell. No white man will buy, consequently, the man who lives next to the Jap is forced to sell to some other Jap at a figure that suits the Jap, an' there you are.

"Now, the Jap is a wily an' crafty individual—more so than the Chink. The Japs realize that the whites do not like to live next to them, so they try to scatter their holdings. They try to buy in the neighborhoods where there are nothin' but white folks. Then it's just like when you throw a rock in the river. Mr. Jap is the rock and when he splashes into the midst of a section of country thickly populated by white folks he starts a wave of migration that keeps gettin' wider and wider just like the ripple in the river until all the white folks have moved out an' the Japs have moved in.

"Until this agitation was started about the anti-alien land law, the Japs bought most of their land on contract, payin' down just enough to hold it. But when the bill was first drafted it specified that those who had deeds to land could hold it. Well, sir, there was a Japanese rush to pay upon land that resembled the invasion of Port Arthur.

"In 1910 the Japanese owned 1900 acres of land in California. Now, it is estimated they own 50,000 acres accordin' to the report before the senate on the anti-alien bill. *An' if we don't legislate against this yellow peril, they will drive the American people away from the soil entirely and the rich agricultural industry of the West will be controlled by the Japanese.*

"The Jap works on the white man's money. Virtually, he has nothin' at stake, yet the white man is at his mercy. He hits the country with his blankets

on his back and the white man stakes him. If he fails he only loses his time—the white man loses the money.

“As soon as a Jap can produce a lease, he is entitled to a wife. He sends a copy of his lease back home and gets a picture bride and they increase like rats. Florin is producin’ 85 American-born Japs a year.

“The Jap will always be an undesirable. They are lower in the scale o’ civilization than the whites and will never become our equals. They have no morals. Why, I have seen one Jap woman sleepin’ with half a dozen Jap men.

“Nobody trusts a Jap. People who deal with them take crop mortgages on their product before they sell them anything.

“If the state legislature don’t enact an anti-alien law that keeps the Japs from ownin’ land in California, the farmers WILL PASS ONE. This ain’t a threat—it’s a promise,’ and John Reese brought his clenched fist down on the beam of the plow with a bang.

“A Jap farmer went clattering by in a spring wagon with a bunch of plow shares, which he had bought at the Jap store up the street, rumbling noisily about in the bottom of the wagon.

“John Reese watched him until he disappeared around a bend in the road.

“The Japs have shore killed Florin,’ he said with a sigh as he turned on his heel and strode into the store, ‘an’ they will kill every farmin’ town in the state of California if the legislature don’t pass the anti-alien land bill.’”

In the same paper the following statement was attributed to Adjutant-General Forbes of the California National Guard:

"It was brought to my attention only recently that at Florin two Japanese military companies were drilling from time to time, that another company had been formed in the Napa valley and other sections."

In Florin I called on Mr. Landsborough, notary public, vineyardist, and general manager of the Florin Fruit Exchange; on Mr. J. B. Brown, vineyardist, whose daughter, Alice M. Brown, is an ardent defender of Japanese in Florin, and the only college woman of the town; on Mr. and Mrs. Tootel, president of the Florin Fruit Growers' Association; on Mr. and Mrs. Simons, old-time residents and successful vineyardists; on Mr. John Reese, storekeeper and chief opponent of Japanese in Florin, whose statements to me corresponded even verbally with those attributed to him in the above citation from the *Sacramento Bee*. I also called on a vineyardist and his wife whose name I did not learn. The school-teacher I met at the schoolhouse but failed to keep a record of her name. The pastor, Mr. Buchner, I corresponded with but did not meet.

Of the Japanese, I met Mr. and Mrs. Suzuki; the former is secretary of the Japanese Association and the latter is a physician, graduate of the Tokyo Medical School, and the only physician in Florin, Japanese or American. She accordingly treats also American patients. Mr. and Mrs. Yoshino, independent vineyardists owning some ten acres, I found at work with a half dozen employed Japanese, pick-

ing, cleaning, and boxing the grapes. Mr. Yoshino's fruit, both this season and the last, brought the highest prices in the Eastern markets of any sent from Florin. Mr. and Mrs. Hirabara, with three sturdy boys, I found living as tenants on Mr. Brown's farm. The managers of both the Japanese stores I met in their establishments. One of them employs an American clerk.

With Miss Brown and Mr. Suzuki I was driven around Florin in an automobile for about three hours, and saw enough to satisfy my curiosity and to convince me that "the half had not been told." Florin is not a Japanese village either in appearance, customs, or morals. It impressed me rather as a typical prosperous community of small American farmers, who are coping successfully with the problem of wringing a living out of farms ranging from five to fifty acres apiece. Each farm has its own modest house. It is practically impossible to tell from the road whether the occupant is a Japanese or an American; the houses are not clustered or huddled together as in Japan, but are widely scattered—one home on each farm. Nor could one tell whether the houses were erected by Japanese or Americans. The worst "Japanese shacks" are, as a matter of fact, owned by Americans who expend the least possible amount for the lodgings of tenants; the appearance of the shacks is the fault of the owner, not of the tenants. In my observation, houses owned by Japa-

nese farmers who have purchased the soil are larger and better than houses provided for tenants by American landlords. I saw several Japanese-owned houses which were distinctly better than many houses owned and occupied by whites. The Japanese in Florin are already remarkably Americanized; they even celebrate the Fourth of July. Just as rapidly as they acquire economic prosperity and can afford it, they live like Americans in clothing, food, and housing.

To avoid repetition, I summarize the various statements made to me by those whom I interviewed in Florin.

The Japanese population of the entire district of Florin (sixteen square miles) consists of three hundred families, who average at present but one child each, and about one hundred unmarried men. In the rush season additional workers may bring the total Japanese population up to 1,400 or 1,500. Nearly all the regular Japanese residents of Florin are members of the Japanese Association.

The white population of Florin, instead of diminishing from one thousand five hundred to five hundred, as asserted by Mr. Macfarlane, has increased during the past ten years. Exact statistics seem inaccessible. But I was shown a dozen or more new houses erected during the past three years by white farmers who have moved in. Of course some Americans have left, but I was assured that this was not on account of Japanese neighbors.

Among white farmers there is probably no one actively opposed to the Japanese. Mr. John Reese, the only active opponent, is a storekeeper and the town sheriff. Although he owns some land, he has not developed a vineyard. Most of the Florin farmers are indifferent to the Japanese question, taking neither interest in their presence nor demanding their departure. Many farmers recognize that the business prosperity of Florin has come largely from the Japanese and are glad to employ them and to lease or sell land to them, as they give better terms than could be secured from white purchasers or tenants.

A large number of small farmers have no direct or personal relations with the Japanese, neither employing their labor nor leasing to them nor regarding or treating them as neighbors. Such men, no doubt, share the general antipathy always felt toward the unfamiliar stranger speaking a strange language. Their minds are, no doubt, poisoned by the slanders circulated by a prejudiced press devoted to the anti-Japanese propaganda.

The teacher at Florin Center, a kindly young woman, replied to my questions promptly and with the assurance of knowledge. The Japanese in the school number less than one half; they are good children, obedient and diligent; they have no special faults; there is no friction between them and American children; both races study and play happily together without constraint.

The white children have, indeed, diminished in number during the past ten years and the Japanese children have increased; the reason for this, however, as stated by Mr. Reese and others (not the school-teacher), is that the children in the older American families are grown up and the younger families are refusing the responsibilities of parentage—are practising “race suicide.”

The number of children in the school at Florin Center, September 29, 1913, was, in the grammar-school, eighteen Americans to five Japanese, and in the primary school, twenty-two whites to sixteen Japanese and two negroes. The Elder Creek district school has no Japanese, while the Enterprise district school had, on October 8, 1913, an enrolment of nineteen American to five Japanese pupils.

The value of agricultural land in and about Florin has steadily increased during the past ten years. On an average it has more than doubled, and this independently of all improvements. One place of fifteen acres was pointed out, bought for \$5,000 by an American who had recently moved in. That same lot ten years ago changed hands for \$1,500, no “improvements” having been made in the meantime on house or land.

There is no known Japanese prostitute in Florin, in spite of the fact that there are some four hundred men permanently resident in this district. In the rush season several hundred additional workers come

in, both men and women, but none of the Americans whom I consulted, except Mr. Reese, knows of any sexual immorality. He alone vigorously asserts the existence of prostitution.

Mr. Landsborough stated that as notary public in the course of a dozen years he had recorded over four hundred contracts and that out of that number probably not more than five or six had not been carried out. Even in those cases the Japanese had assumed too high risks; the low prices received for fruit had driven the tenant-farmer into bankruptcy.

Mr. Brown stated that for years after others had found Japanese tenants satisfactory, he had continued to lease his thirty-acre farm to whites; under five successive white men the place had continued to run down, the last man having farmed it so poorly that practically nothing was realized from the vineyard. Overcoming race prejudice, he had finally leased to a Japanese, and now for four years everything had gone on satisfactorily.

Four American women stated that they found the Japanese women good neighbors; as soon as the latter become able to speak a little English, social intercourse is established, and visits are exchanged for the purpose of learning and teaching. Japanese, both women and men, spoke of the kindness of their American neighbors.

I called at random on an American to see what he would say about his Japanese neighbor not more

than a hundred yards away. Every statement made, both by him and his wife, was in harmony with the statements made above. In only one point was the Japanese neighbor criticised, namely, that he makes a slave of his wife. They had actually "seen her in the field with her baby on her back only three days old!" The next day I went especially to the house of the Japanese physician, Mrs. Suzuki, to find out the general custom and the facts in this particular case. Mrs. Suzuki, it seems, tells her maternity cases to stay abed not less than two weeks after childbirth, and not to go out of the house under three weeks. As to this particular case, she could say nothing, as she had only come to town some fifteen months before. Further inquiry elsewhere revealed the fact that the American making the above assertion had moved into this region and had bought his place less than a year ago, while the youngest child of the Japanese neighbor was over a year and a half old. Evidently there was a mistake in memory or observation.

This "testimony," by the way, well illustrates how anti-Japanese stories get started by "eyewitnesses." This Japanese neighbor, I learned, is one of the most respected and successful men of the community. Besides running his farm, which he owns, and securing in Eastern markets the best prices on his grapes of any vineyardist of Florin, he is treasurer of the Japanese Association and partner

in one of the stores. He is educated and refined, living in a good house in Western style.

The assertion that "at Florin two military companies drill from time to time" is, as Mr. Landsborough stated, laughable. From a material standpoint such drilling would be impossible without the knowledge of many whites, for the two races everywhere live side by side; there is no possible secret hall or concealed drill grounds. And, from the psychological standpoint, the drilling is absolutely incredible to one who knows the Japanese and the entire situation. This is a sample of the stories invented and circulated for the promotion of race antagonism.

The Alien Land Law hits Florin hard. Development of new vineyards is now out of the question, for American farmers will not handle the strawberry proposition, so important during the five years when the vineyard is getting started, while the Japanese cannot do it on a three-year lease, which is all the law allows.

Finally, some at least of the farmers at Florin are indignant at the way in which their district has been misrepresented to the world at large. Farmers from other districts may desire alien land laws limiting Japanese economic opportunity; but Florin cannot be honestly cited as unanimously desiring such laws. Seven representative citizens (Messrs. Landsborough, Tootel, Briner, Merwin, Feil, and Miss Brown, all vineyardists, and Rev. Mr. Buchner,

pastor of the Florin church) went to Sacramento, some of them two and three times, in order to put before the legislature, Governor Johnson, Secretary Bryan, and the public generally, the real views and desires of Florin farmers, but failed. Communications sent to Sacramento papers setting forth the Japanese situation in Florin from the view-point of these farmers were declined. Newspaper correspondents came to Florin, like Mr. Macfarlane, who wrote up the situation for *Collier's Weekly*, but instead of impartially seeking for the facts they eagerly listened to the stories of Mr. Reese, apparently swallowing all he said, for they heralded to the world his view of the case as gospel truth.

When Governor Johnson and Secretary Bryan came to Florin, Mr. Reese, already known for his anti-Japanese attitude, was chosen by Governor Johnson to be their guide and instructor, while Mr. Landsborough, known to Governor Johnson as pro-Japanese, was turned aside. These facts, told me by the Florin farmers themselves, have convinced me that part at least of the anti-Japanese agitation in California is one-sided to say the least.

This statement of what I found at Florin must suffice. The good people of California have been misled in regard to the facts. If Florin is a typical instance of the evils wrought by Japanese farmers, then the anti-Japanese argument, so far as the agricultural situation is concerned, is not very strong.

CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

FOR a comprehensive understanding of the actual situation in California, we should know somewhat in detail the efforts of Japanese themselves to meet the difficulties and solve the problems. To a degree that few Americans appreciate, there are wise and noble leaders among them, and movements are under way of great importance and promise.

Among the potent forces working for the social, economic, and moral uplift of the Japanese in California are the fifty odd organizations called the Japanese Association of ———. One such organization is found in each centre of Japanese population. The leading Japanese of that region are members, paying monthly membership fees of from twenty-five cents to three dollars. These fifty associations, averaging about two hundred and fifty members and having each its own board of directors and one or more salaried secretaries, are federated in a single body called the Japanese Association of America, of which Mr. K. S. Inui is the general secretary, having its headquarters in San Francisco at 1436 Post Street. Upon these local and central secretaries falls the

brunt of the work. In the local offices are kept all records of arrivals, marriages, births, deaths, etc. In cases of difficulty or misunderstanding between Japanese laborers and American or other employers, the secretary seeks to find the source of the difficulty and to remove the same by friendly mediation. The writer was informed by the secretary of the Oakland association that a large majority of the difficulties between Americans and Japanese arose through misunderstandings due to ignorance of each other's language.

In order to promote mutual understanding between the races, the national association from time to time publishes in English, for free distribution, pertinent articles and pamphlets. It also issues, in Japanese, suggestions of various kinds calculated to promote both economic prosperity and the understanding of American people and life.

A particular instance of the work done by these associations is of special interest to Americans and merits detailed description. This is the so-called "picture-bride" movement. As has been often noted, practically all Japanese immigrants have been unmarried young men who came to this country with the expectation of an early return to Japan, hoping, of course, to take back with them fat pocket-books. Up to 1904 the percentage of female immigrants varied from 4 per cent to 10 per cent, the average for nineteen years being 6.8 per cent. In

1905, however, the percentage of females suddenly advanced to 17.7 per cent, remaining at that rate for four years. In 1909 a new rate was established, females outnumbered the males, the percentage for that year being 53.5 per cent and for 1911, 69.2 per cent. During the year 1912 the number of "picture brides" who arrived at San Francisco and were there married according to the laws of the United States was 826 (this figure was given by the immigration office).

Now the average suspicious anti-Japanese critic puts a sinister interpretation on these facts. He argues, for instance, that wives so secured are not real wives; they are rather "a device of the cunning Jap to get around the immigration laws." It is needless, however, to state at length the unkind insinuations flung at the Japanese in this connection.

From the familiarity with their marriage customs and with the details of the procedure in connection with such marriages gained by many years spent in Japan, the writer is satisfied that sinister interpretations are unjustified. The procedure is as follows: A Japanese young man attains sufficient prosperity, on the one hand, to desire to settle down in this land permanently and, on the other, to support a family. And it is to be noted that Japanese have strong family instincts. A roving life does not satisfy them. The average young man, however, does not have the means for a visit to his homeland

in search of a bride and he has little taste or opportunity for a mate to be found in America, to say nothing of the California law which forbids the marriage of whites with Mongolians. He naturally writes to his home-folks, who, as they would do were he in Japan, proceed to hunt out some suitable girl among their acquaintances. Having found her, his picture is shown her and hers is sent to him, each being given information with regard to the other. The procedure thus far is identical with that in Japan. Before the final step, namely legal marriage, the two parties usually, though not even yet universally, have an opportunity to see each other, and assent to the arrangement made by parents and go-betweens.

For many years, however, the Japanese Government has been granting passports to no emigrants without the closest investigation. And because Japanese so-called "white-slave" traders have exported not a few Japanese girls for immoral purposes, the government has, for several years, refused to give passports to women merely on the statement that their prospective husbands are living in some other land. In order to satisfy itself, the government now requires that every young man in America, before getting a wife from Japan, must apply to the Consul-General in San Francisco, who shall issue a certificate only after full investigation.

At this point comes in the work of the Japanese

Association. The Japanese consulate requires that each applicant for a permit for a prospective wife must first apply to the secretary of the Japanese Association of which he is a member. The secretary must look carefully into the business, the moral character, and personal life of the applicant. He must find out, directly and indirectly, whether the applicant is financially able and morally competent to assume family responsibilities. The secretary reports his findings to the consulate in San Francisco and the latter reports the result to the government in Tokyo, which then issues a passport to the girl whose fiancé has been thus investigated and approved.

Before the woman leaves Japan her police registration is changed to that of the prospective husband's family, which alone constitutes legal marriage in Japan, and she receives his name. On arrival in San Francisco she is met at the immigration office by her prospective husband, and in the presence of the American officer each acknowledges the relation of husband and wife. The American Government does not, however, recognize a Japanese marriage contracted under these circumstances, but requires that the couple shall be married by a minister of religion—Christian or Buddhist. This ceremony performed and duly certified and registered, the couple are free to go to their home.

Although this method of finding mates is far from

satisfactory to the parties concerned, including the secretaries and Consul-General, under the conditions imposed by the "gentlemen's agreement" no other method seems practicable.

The writer not only confesses that he sees nothing to criticise in this procedure, but, on the contrary, regards it as exceedingly wise and well calculated, under the circumstances, to secure the best possible results. The marriages, as a rule, are successful, only about one per cent thus far having ended in divorce. The secretaries inform me that they find it necessary to refuse a substantial proportion of the applicants—varying from ten to thirty per cent. Some of these refusals are based on moral grounds; *e. g.*, the applicant is discovered to be a gambler or a dissolute man. In case the difficulty is economic, the applicant is recommended to wait for a time and after better financial preparation to renew his application.

Certainly it is far better for these young men to secure Japanese wives and rear Japanese families than to remain in relatively irresponsible freedom, or to enter into less desirable relations. And it is also far better for the country to have these Japanese immigrants settling down in permanent family relationships than to have them remain in permanent irresponsible hoboism.

It may be well to state at this point that it is the thought of neither the Japanese Government nor

the individuals concerned that this "picture-bride" movement is "a sly device for eluding immigration regulations." The motives involved are, on the contrary, highly creditable to Japanese manhood—the desire to have and rear families. Japanese fondness for children is one of the many admirable traits of that race, and puts to shame the race-suicide tendencies of not a few Americans who, indeed, constitute "undesirable citizens."

The members of the Japanese Associations in each locality represent the best elements of that race. They are constantly seeking to promote the good and eliminate the bad among their people. The writer recently heard of a case of difficulty which was on the point of getting into the local courts. The Japanese Association took up the matter and secured the departure to Japan of the individual concerned, and the extraordinary police supervision which the government has over every individual in Japan makes it certain that he will never secure a passport to return to the United States.

All in all, then, the work and leadership of the Japanese Associations are highly commendable and promise well for the future.

In addition to the Japanese Associations, there are other organizations whose aim is more restricted, either economic or social. For instance, there is the Japanese Producers' Association. It was organized in 1908 by a "majority of the tenant farmers

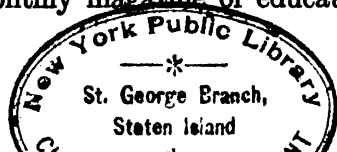


Interior of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Tanaka of Florin. Note the map of the State of California on the wall; also the picture beside it, the hard-wood floor, the rug, chairs, books and phonograph. Is this a "shack?"



between Vorden and Isleton, on both sides of the Sacramento." Its aims are stated to be "to advance the interests, uphold the dignity and protect the happiness of the members and of the Japanese in general. . . . To assist in improving and ameliorating their moral, social, and economic conditions. . . . To maintain and insure cordiality between landlord and tenant, thus guaranteeing against all unnecessary misunderstanding between them. . . . In case of dispute between landlord and tenant, to act as arbitrators and mediators with a view to seeing justice done to both parties. . . . To take a united and decisive stand against all unscrupulous parties and irresponsible tenants. . . . To make a concerted effort to procure for this section, the best quality of Japanese labor available, in order more effectively to develop the fertile bottoms now so scantily populated." And in conclusion we find this interesting appeal: "Should you happen to entertain a shadow of a grievance against one Japanese tenant, be good enough to inform us of the particulars and we will be only too glad to investigate and rectify the matter."

Mention may also be made of the Japanese Farmers' Association on the San Joaquin River. This association devotes special attention to the scientific aspects of farming as well as to other matters of interest to its members. It publishes in Japanese a monthly magazine of educational value



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to its farming clientage and also conducts a "Question Department."

"More than 70 per cent of the individual farmers in this district belong to one or the other of these two associations."

Another form of association of the Japanese are the so-called Prefectural Clubs. Membership here is limited to those who have come from a single province in Japan, for Japanese have quite distinct local historical interests, and in some cases even linguistic and social characteristics dependent on the sections of Japan in which they were reared. Such interests are utilized by these "clubs" for the promotion of good fellowship and mutual helpfulness.

In Los Angeles there is a Producers' Association to meet the special economic needs of the large number of small farmers. It not only aids them in disposing advantageously of their produce, but seeks to find tenants for unoccupied lands, to aid would-be tenants with regard to available lands, and to promote co-operative marketing.

No more important or significant work is being done for the Americanization of Japanese residents in California than that of those Christian Japanese who are associated in the *Dendodan*, the Inter-Denominational Evangelistic Board.

This union organization was effected in 1911 in order to quicken the life of the Christians them-

selves and help them feel their responsibility for carrying the gospel to their fellow countrymen who have as yet had no opportunity to hear the "good news." The *Dendodan* finds that there are large neglected regions. Careful statistics have been gathered showing that there are twenty-seven districts, having a Japanese population of 19,027, wholly without Christian services of any kind. This society raises money and sends the pastors on preaching tours through these neglected regions. This movement springs from the conviction that only through the gospel and the change of heart produced can the Japanese in America become truly adapted to the new life here and enter cordially into our civilization and finally be welcomed by Americans.

The results already secured have been highly gratifying. Evangelistic services have led to marked changes of attitude in many individuals who hitherto have been antagonistic to Christianity and resentful toward Americans who were all regarded as Christians.

So valuable is the direct evangelistic work felt to be by leaders in the Japanese Associations for promoting right relations between Japanese and Americans that these associations, though non-religious, have nevertheless provided the *Dendodan* with substantial financial gifts.

This movement is one which should be encouraged and strongly supported. Even from a selfish stand-

point, what better way can there be of overcoming the narrow nationalism of Japanese immigrants and putting them into sympathetic relations with their neighbors than by leading them to become Christians. Such a change will, of course, transform their moral standards and render them better workers, more amenable to American moral standards, and better liked, therefore, by Americans.

It is doubtful if the immigrants from any other land are as alert as those from Japan in the use of the press for the promotion of their interests. Is there any other national group in America which, in proportion to its numbers, supports so many publications? With a population on the Pacific coast of less than sixty-five thousand there are five or six dailies and several monthly publications. The Christians publish and support a magazine, called *Shin Tenchi* (*New Heaven and Earth*); and reference has already been made to the magazine published by the Farmers' Association on the San Joaquin. Although these papers are not always entirely free from objectionable material, at times following the lead of the "yellow press," yet the writer is assured by those who are good judges that, on the whole, the leadership of the Japanese press is wholesome.

A significant item may be cited in this connection. In the fall of 1912 a daily paper was established in San Francisco called the *Kokumin* (*Nationalist*). Its fundamental aim was to arouse the spirit of Jap-

anese nationalism in California and to consolidate the Japanese opposition to American race prejudice. So little, however, did it succeed in finding response that it died a natural death in the course of the next six months through lack of paying subscribers.

In spite of the fact that the English language is probably more difficult of acquisition by the Japanese than by any other race, for the same reason that the Japanese language is the most difficult foreign language with which Occidentals have to grapple, yet careful examination shows that Japanese are the most persistent of all immigrants in learning English.

This, indeed, might be expected in view of the relatively large proportion of "students" among those who come from Japan. Out of a total of 9,544 immigrants arriving in 1908, the last year before the enforcement of the "gentlemen's agreement," 2,018 were classified as "students." Due to the stringent interpretation of the term, as excluding all who must work for a living, the number at once fell to 153, 255, 239, 288, and 260 in the five years following. In the report of the Immigration Commission (vol. 23, pp. 146, 148), giving statistics as to resident Japanese who can speak English, we find that 64.7 per cent are reported as able to speak English. Of those who had been in California under five years, 58.1 per cent; between five and nine

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years, 70.7 per cent, and over ten years, 82.6 per cent could speak English.

After giving many tables of comparative statistics, the report reviews the whole field of literacy, from which we quote the following significant statements:

"Compared to other races employed in similar kinds of work in similar industries, the Japanese appear to have progressed more rapidly than most other races, especially the Chinese and Mexicans. . . . The differences between the Japanese and some of the other races with regard to the learning of English *are so great*, however, as to justify the statement that the Japanese have acquired the use of the English language more quickly and more eagerly than the Chinese the Mexicans and some of the European races."

The report also refers to the "numerous schools maintained for the benefit of adult immigrants. No less than thirty-three, the primary aim of which is to instruct adult Japanese in the English language, were reported by agents of the Commission."

These facts as to Japanese acquisition of English throw significant light on the question of their assimilability.

When word came to Japan in March and April that no less than thirty-four bills had been introduced into the California State legislature proposing to limit and hamper the freedom of Japanese residents in that State, bills some of which were grossly unjust and all of them apparently in clear

conflict with the spirit of friendship proclaimed by all Japanese-American treaties, a wave of indignation swept through the newspaper-reading section of the nation. A few hotheads, such as may be found in any land, demanded of the government prompt action and, in case of failure to secure redress by the regular channels of diplomacy, readiness to push the case even to the point of war.

The sober sense of the nation, however, though intensely pained by the insult received, saw clearly that such methods would be futile, tending rather to aggravate the difficulty. They counselled a calm course. In substance they said: "Let the Foreign Office, of course, pursue the usual remedial methods when matters of difficulty arise. But in addition to that, let experienced and sober representatives of the people go to America for the purpose of making a careful examination of the situation. It is not to be assumed that California wantonly insults Japan or proposes discriminatory legislation without any cause. Let wise counsellors go to California and, after a careful study of the whole situation, let them counsel Japanese residents in California and let them also report to us in Japan what they find, in order that they and we may co-operate to remove the causes of difficulty which have led to this unfortunate situation."

This wise and sober counsel prevailed. The details of the diplomatic controversy have not been dis-

closed; indeed, at this writing the negotiations are not yet completed. But without waiting for the success or failure of diplomacy, three men eminent in national affairs were despatched to the United States by different political parties, in order to study the facts on the ground, hear both sides, counsel their fellow countrymen in California, and provide a solid basis of knowledge for the whole people.

Surely, we must accord to the Japanese political parties the praise of great wisdom and calmness. What American political party would have been willing, in a time of national excitement, to adopt this slow, painstaking method of investigation? Would not our yellow press have inflamed the popular mind to such an extent that calm, statesmanlike action on the part of the political parties would have been impossible? Be that as it may, the method adopted by Japanese political parties is above reproach in this matter, at least.

Hon. A. Hattori, of the Kokuminto (National party), and a member of the Diet; Mr. J. Soyeda, of the Nichibei Doshikai (Japan-America One-aim Society), and Hon. S. Ebara, of the Seiyukai (Constitutional Society) and life member by Imperial appointment of the House of Peers, were selected by their respective parties for this duty. The choices are significant. Mr. Hattori was at one time a Presbyterian pastor in San Francisco. For the better proclamation of the gospel, he entered politics

and has become a powerful political force. Mr. Soyeda is one of Japan's leading bankers, and was formerly a vice-minister of finance. Hon. Ebara, now seventy years of age, has led a remarkable life. When, in the sixties, all the foreign diplomats left Tokyo because of the fear of assassination, our American minister alone remained, saying he would trust the Japanese Government and people. It was his habit to ride out on horseback, unarmed and unattended, indeed a dangerous thing to do at that time. Young Ebara was so impressed by the courage and spirit of the man that he secured an appointment from the Shogun to act as Mr. Harris's personal guard. From that time to this Mr. Ebara has been an ardent admirer of America. He early became a Christian and through a long and active, often exciting, political career, has led a consistent Christian life, seeking especially through education to bring his people to a knowledge of the West. He was for many years a member of the lower house of the Imperial Diet; some three years ago, however, he was appointed by the Emperor to the House of Peers, which is a life appointment. Is it not a significant fact that when Japanese political parties sought for men to study the California problem they should pick out three such men rather than well-known belligerent jingoists?

These men, with the secretaries, came, spent from two to three months each in their work here, and

are now back in Japan. While in Honolulu, and also on the mainland, these gentlemen, of course, spoke on many occasions to their fellow countrymen. Their counsels were sane and sober. The following abstract of Mr. Hattori's address in Honolulu, taken from *The Friend*, will indicate something of his spirit and thought:

"He made four most impressive and striking points: first, every Japanese in Hawaii should be true to his fatherland and unswerving in his devotion to his Emperor; second, every Japanese settled here in permanency should become an American citizen if possible; third, such a change of allegiance is not evidence of loss of patriotism and will entail no injury to one's national individuality. Indeed, it will broaden that individuality into true cosmopolitanism. Such an honorable change of citizenship only argues a higher patriotism, while the deeper the patriotic devotion the better fitted the man will be for citizenship in another country: fourth, if after change of allegiance from Japan to America, war between the two nations should come, the truer the Japanese, the more valorously he will fight for America, thus exemplifying the genuine spirit of honor which Japan inspires in her children."¹

The editorial comment on this address added: "The American papers gave only the first of the above four points in their report of Mr. Hattori's address, thus conveying exactly the opposite impression of the import of his remarks. As time elapses, we cannot help feeling that Japan, as a

¹ *The Friend*, Honolulu, June, 1913.

whole, shows a disposition to treat this episode in the spirit of Christ, while America is debating it to no small degree from the standpoint of Mammon."

Mr. Soyeda prepared, in English, a "Survey of the Japanese Question in California," which was published in August, shortly after his return to Japan. Though the survey covers sixteen pages, it is comprehensive and statesmanlike. It evinces acquaintance with all the charges brought against the Japanese in California, and suggests, in the briefest words, some reply. The solution proposed is "*better mutual acquaintance*," for there is still much misunderstanding and misrepresentation. There are some things to be done by both governments and there are some things to be done by the Japanese themselves both in America and in Japan. In America, for instance, the Japanese are counselled to "strive more and more for assimilation with the people and observance of the laws and customs of the land. . . . They must work strenuously to remedy their faults and do nothing to startle or irritate the people with whom they are living . . . self-help is, after all, the best help. . . . Children born in the States must be carefully looked after, so that their future may be assured and they may become good citizens of the Great Republic." There are many details in regard to which Mr. Soyeda gives suggestions to Japanese in California, and to those in Japan he commends "patience and careful con-

sideration." In conclusion he urges "campaigns of education along permanent and broad lines with the aim to enlighten the public opinion, not only in the two countries concerned, but all the world over."

Shortly after the publication of this pamphlet the California *Examiner* (October 2, 1913) referred to it in an editorial whose spirit and language are indicated by the following quotations: "It is with thankfulness, gratitude, humility and a deep sense of being properly rebuked that we receive this fulmination of the Hon. Juichi. We shall not selfishly enjoy this feast of reason and flow of language alone. At least half of it shall be fed to the office cat—may his venerable whiskers flourish forever! The other moiety will be forwarded to a noted pro-Japanese American statesman, who engages in lecturing, breeding doves, and Secretarying of State with equal grace, facility and financial success. In a general way, Honorable Pamphlet informs us that Honorable Japanese is truly morally superior to unfortunate American inhabiteness, being truth, firmness, uprightness and faithfulness in gentlemen's agreement, therefore is perfectly agreeable to naturalization and intermarriage, which afford happy solution to Honorable Immigration Question not yet impacted upon yellow American press."

This is a fair sample of the insolent treatment by our yellow press of a courteous discussion of our international problem by one who has devoted

months to its careful study. As indicating the attitude of a considerable number of Californians toward Japanese in general, this editorial is an ominous sign of the times.

Hon. Mr. Ebara, not being a ready speaker of English, confined his utterances to the Japanese language. His addresses, however, to his fellow countrymen in California are reported to have been exceedingly helpful in quieting those who were tending to become excited and in the promotion of sane methods for the attainment of international goodwill.

In an interview granted to the writer the day preceding his departure for Japan, Mr. Ebara disclosed the fairness of his attitude by many significant remarks. He recognized that in this problem the Japanese have their share of the blame to carry. There are, no doubt, many individual Japanese immigrants who have displayed those unfortunate characteristics with which all Japanese are now charged. The Japanese Government made a great blunder when it allowed such large numbers of the very lowest classes in Japan to go, first, to the Hawaiian Islands and, later, to California. Especially harmful to right relations between Americans and Japanese is the Buddhist mission in America. Buddhist priests teach narrow patriotism and perpetuate many of the worst features of Buddhist practice. They alienate Americans and

hinder Japanese from taking on American ideals and customs. These opinions Mr. Ebara has been proclaiming in Japan. A long article in one of the influential papers of Osaka, discussing the responsibility for the Japanese situation in California says that it largely rests on the Japanese themselves. Buddhist priests are especially responsible. An editorial charges Buddhist missions in California with doing much harm. Mr. Ebara also maintained that the true course to be followed is one of education. The Japanese here must be educated in English, in American customs, and especially in the Christian religion. This, after all, is the great unifier of races—belief in one God and discipleship to Jesus Christ. In our interview he had nothing to say criticising Americans or Californians.

In addition to the three gentlemen mentioned above, who were sent to the United States in representative capacities, several eminent Japanese have come in private capacities who have also given the matter considerable attention and whose counsel has been sought by Japanese on the coast. I am not able to report in detail their opinions, although, knowing some of the individuals as I do, I am confident that their thought will correspond closely with that of the three leaders already mentioned. Messrs. Ibuka and Kozaki, pastors in Japan and leaders in their respective denominations, may be counted on to give wise and wholesome advice. Mr. Suyehiro,

Professor of International Law in the Imperial University in Kyoto, with whom the writer has been associated for five years on the executive committee of the Oriental Peace Society, has come to California in a private capacity to study the legal aspects of the question. He is carefully refraining from all public utterances.

Although Count Okuma, sometimes called the "Grand Old Man of Japan," has not come to California at this juncture, yet his utterances in regard to the question at issue may rightly be regarded as an important factor in the moral leadership of the Japanese in California. "Diplomacy or law or statesmanship," he said, "will not work in this case: the power of Christianity, the teaching of the brotherhood of all men and universal peace, alone will save the threatening situation. Christianity is stronger in America than in any other country and the concerted efforts of the Christian workers here (in Japan) and in America will achieve what we all have at heart."

Surely this appeal from a Japanese statesman, who makes no profession of being a Christian, to the Christians of America should not only set us all thinking, but should also inspire us to do our part in overcoming that narrow race prejudice which moves so considerable a section of our people.

During my stay on the Pacific coast it has been my privilege to meet in friendly conference many of the Japanese leaders. I have dined or lunched

with representatives of various associations and groups and have been allowed not only to ask many pointed questions but to express my own opinion in regard to the situation. Indeed, the Japanese have been more desirous of hearing than of speaking themselves. The result of these interviews has been to leave on my mind a very definite impression which I would like to pass on.

The first thing to be stated is that the Japanese leaders do not exhibit a spirit of captious criticism or complaint. They do not feel indignant and belligerent. Of course, they are pained and are, indeed, deeply grieved that so many Americans shun them and regard them with such unfriendly feeling. But they are not resentful nor revengeful. They seem, rather, to have the spirit taught by Christ, when smitten on the one cheek to turn the other. Indeed, at one of the public meetings, when I was asked to speak in Japanese on the "Future of the Japanese Question," that was the Scripture passage read by the Japanese leader of the meeting.

The general attitude of these Japanese leaders has, accordingly, been a source at once of surprise and of satisfaction. In talking matters over, while they often speak of the indignities which they receive—occasional stoning by rowdy boys, refusal of barbers to cut their hair, racial discrimination, and lack of courteous treatment in many little ways—they mention these matters without anger and often



The public school at Florin Centre. This photograph was used by Mr. P. C. Macfarlane in his article in "Collier's Weekly" for June 7, 1918, to show the "menace of the Japanese invasion." The Japanese children have apparently been bunched in the foreground. This picture illustrates in fact how Americanized Japanese children become in American schools.

add that this treatment does not come from the better classes, among whom there are many friends and supporters. Moreover, they add, the situation has been steadily improving for four or five years. "What is needed is patience."

One group of men, in talking of these matters, said that the anti-Japanese feeling was quite natural. Japanese themselves could understand it, when they recall their own feeling toward negroes or even to the Shinheimin ("new-common people"—so called because they were formerly an outcast class) in Japan. And all agreed.

Furthermore, all those with whom the writer has discussed this subject have acknowledged the partial truth of most of the criticisms directed against the Japanese. But they say that, as a rule, there is too extensive a generalization from a few instances. The offending Japanese is noted and remembered, and his fault is laid up against the race, while the large majority, who are not guilty of that fault, are overlooked or, if noted, are regarded as exceptions. This, however, is the way with every people. The Japanese in Japan have fallen into the same treatment of aliens. Such utterances show how broad-minded these leaders are.

And, finally, the writer has been impressed with the sanity of their counsels. They are seeking to curb the jingo young men among themselves, and also the chauvinistic press in Japan. They see

clearly that all vituperative, retaliatory, belligerent, or ill-mannered retorts, hinder, rather than aid, the cause. They have sought to calm the excited feelings in Japan. For instance, they have counselled Japan to proceed with her part in the anticipated Panama Exposition, of which California is expecting so much. I wonder if America or Americans in Japan placed in conditions like those in which Japan and the Japanese have been placed would have acted in an equally generous manner?

Among the forces working powerfully for the assimilation of the Japanese is that of Christian missions. They are legitimately introduced into this chapter because, though organized and largely controlled by the American churches, yet the actual evangelistic work is chiefly done by the Japanese themselves.

Of the fifty Japanese churches in the United States, twenty-four churches, with one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight members, are in northern California; sixteen churches, with six hundred and eighty-one members, in southern California; and twelve churches, with five hundred and ten members, in Washington, Oregon, and Colorado. The following paragraphs are quoted from Reverend Mr. Hinman's excellent pamphlet on "The Oriental in America":

"The first mission work for Japanese was begun by the Methodists in 1877, but its great development has been since 1900. . . . Many Orientals have been

received into American churches, but where there are sufficient numbers, experience has shown that better results are secured by the organization of separate or branch churches. . . . From the beginning, missionary work for the Japanese has placed emphasis on preaching and institutional work, partly because trained Japanese preachers were obtainable and because Japanese could be appealed to by other means than the English class.

"Mission work for the Japanese in America is helped by the fact that a considerable number of the Japanese immigrants have been somewhat affected by Christian influence before their arrival. Many immigrants have been members of churches in Japan and some have been trained in Christian work. They are ready to enter churches here and themselves feel a responsibility for work among their own people in America. Japanese pastors show a genuinely missionary spirit, going out freely to visit the ranches and railroad camps where Japanese are working. They conduct special campaigns of pastoral evangelism and carefully study and plan for the evangelization of unreached Japanese communities. Few of them are widely known to Americans, but they are men of great influence and power among their own people and are recognized in the most important gatherings of the Japanese communities. They are leaders in local reforms, scholarly in their reading and thinking, and adaptable in their methods.

"The quick acceptance of the methods of organized church work by the Japanese is very encouraging. American workers are surprised to find how soon the Japanese Christians are anxious and able to administer their church work quite independently. No great social or religious movement touches the life

of the places where they live without stirring their keen interest. Japanese Associations, including in their membership all those in a certain district, gladly call together great mass meetings when speakers of prominence from Japan are available. Japanese churches frequently command the attention of an entire community when they can introduce men like the late Bishop Honda, President Harada, or Americans who have spent years in Japan.

"Many Japanese pastors are graduates of American theological schools.

"While Japanese Christians influence so strongly the life of their communities in America, the Japanese returning to their own country with a new-found faith, have had a very large influence on missionary work and social reform in Japan. The Rev. H. Kehara, converted in a Methodist California mission, did splendid pioneer service in organizing Japanese missions, in Hawaii and Korea. Another product of California Japanese missions, Mr. Sho Nemoto, has been the parliamentary leader of temperance reform, and has secured the passage of a bill against the use of tobacco by minors.

"The story of American influence through the returned Oriental emigrant has never yet been adequately told. It concerns all classes, the humble farmer who goes back with new ideas to his native village and the great reformer who has learned a 'divine discontent' with the old customs and superstitions. The marvelous awakening of China and Japan is not inexplicable to the Christian men and women through whom God has worked to form the thoughts and change the hearts of Orientals in America.

"Japanese churches come to self-support more quickly and more readily than Chinese churches, as

they apply their gifts almost exclusively to Christian work in the United States. They give generously for the erection of mission buildings. Members of the Pacific Japanese Methodist Conference annually gave over \$20.00 per capita to home expenses for eight successive years."

Personal acquaintance with many of the Japanese pastors corroborates the statements made above.

Whoever will consider the efforts being put forth by Japanese leaders and also by the rank and file to adapt themselves to the conditions of life here, to learn our ways, and conform to our standards will surely realize that much has already been done and that the prospects for the future are hopeful.

CHAPTER VII

ARE JAPANESE ASSIMILABLE?

WE have now reached the storm-centre of our problem. Vehement assertion and dogmatic confidence characterize the discussions both of those who assert and of those who deny Japanese assimilability.

If the question is asked why they are not assimilable, we are told that they are *so* different, so fixed in their race traits, so unalterably Japanese, so wedded to their Mikado worship. Japanese are Japanese and will never change, nor learn our ways, nor adopt our modes of life. They cannot possibly accept our conceptions of God and man, of society and government, of duty and destiny, of home and woman, and the like. In brief, the fault is with the Japanese. But as the discussion advances the question becomes one of intermarriage; it then appears that the difficulty is quite on the other side—it is the white man that scorns the little brown man and regards him as inherently inferior and intermarriage as utterly obnoxious. The final and clinching argument is the question: "Would you let your daughter marry a Jap?"

To put the matter, then, more truly, should we not say that it is the white who is unassimilable? We

are not willing to adopt their ways of life and thought nor to allow our children to intermarry with theirs, thus contaminating our aristocratic blood. When intermarriage does take place we class the offspring as belonging to their race, not to ours, although the actual blood relation proclaims the children as much ours as theirs.

Instinctive race feelings so inevitably arise in this discussion that special care is needed to distinguish between feelings and facts. Yet we must not forget that feelings also are pertinent facts and facts of great importance. They cannot be ignored or treated as though they were not. Nevertheless, they must not be allowed to distort our vision in regard to other facts which also are solid and verifiable and demand proper consideration.

Lest some may promptly conclude that the writer advocates free intermarriage of races, he states at once that such is not his view. Rather he earnestly deprecates it. A more complete statement, however, will follow in due course.

It is important, first of all, to distinguish clearly between the problems.

What is it, for instance, that constitutes a race? An untrained thinker rightly takes the concrete whole as he finds it and, in the large, distinguishes between each whole on the basis of skin color. This single element is a striking differentiating feature. And then, along with the color, there go in a rough

way the differences in physiognomy, language, psychic characteristics, civilization, morals, and religion. These are all bunched and each element is unconsciously regarded as carrying with it all the rest, so that wherever one element exists the presence of the rest may be assumed, even though there may be no special ocular evidence of them. Moreover, all the race characteristics, physiological, social, psychic, and civilizational, of each race are thought to be inherited from generation to generation by the regular vital processes, even as dog nature is inherent in every dog and cat nature in every cat. The races thus are ordinarily conceived as being sharply and permanently distinct and easily distinguishable.

Modern biology, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, however, have completely overthrown this conception of race. It conflicts with many incontrovertible facts; it confuses biological with psychic and social phenomena. Such ideas, accordingly, while natural, are utterly unscientific and seriously misleading.

Modern sciences have proven that, so far as man's physical organism is concerned, he resembles in remarkable ways the higher animals, especially the anthropoid apes, which group of species, together with man, doubtless evolved from some common ancestral simian stock. Modern sciences have also proven that man is possessed of marvellous psychic powers of a nature conveniently described as spiritual.

Animals, especially the higher ones, are not wholly without this spirit or psychic nature. But the difference between animals and man is so vast that, although it is correct to speak of man as anatomically only slightly different from the baboon or gorilla, psychically he constitutes a separate kingdom. If it is legitimate to designate the differences between the mineral, vegetable, and animal, as a difference of kingdoms, then it is correct to add one more, the kingdom of man.

Now, the universal characteristic of all mankind, whatever the race, is their common possession of powers of abstract thought, of language and all that grows out of it, of reasoning in the highest sense, of moral sense, and of religious aspirations. So far as his body is concerned, man belongs to the world of time and space, of atoms and molecules, of mechanism and organism. So far as his spirit life is concerned, he rises above space and time; he is universal; he thinks all space; he looks backward and forward in infinite stretches of time; his whole life is ruled by purpose; through his spirit nature he is most intimately united with innumerable fellows of his race and with other races and with all history. Man is by his innermost nature social. In a word, man is at once physical and spiritual, animal and human, finite and infinite, individual and universal; in part he is ruled by necessity, in part he is free and self-creating. In truth, man is a paradox,

full of contradiction and controlled by countless conflicting elements. Now, the unity of mankind arises from their common possession of this astonishing psychic nature rather than from their bodily similarities.

Careful study of the physical organism of the higher animals doubtless throws much light on man's physical nature and its processes of growth. Some seem to think that if they can determine the laws of heredity and cross-breeding for horses and cows, cats and mice, guinea-pigs and primroses, they have forthwith determined the laws of inheritance and assimilation for the kingdom of man. Let investigation go forward. But let us not expect to get all our light from those sources. Let us recognize that man's psychic nature is unique and can be studied only in man and especially that this nature has its own laws of heredity and is also even in biological assimilation a modifying factor of the first importance.

We distinguish sharply, therefore, between man's biological and his spirit nature and separate clearly the principles governing each realm. Biological life is not social life, while biological heredity is absolutely different from social heredity. The laws in each realm are in sharp contrast. Biological evolution, proceeding from a single ancestral human stock, after many millenniums has resulted in several well-marked races and subraces. At the same time social evolution has brought into existence distinct streams

of civilization. These two great movements, biological and social evolution, have gone forward through the action of a common condition, namely, isolating barriers and long-maintained segregation. Because these two processes have gone on together, non-scientific thought regards them as parts of one process and therefore inseparable. Race is thought to determine civilization, morals, and religion no less than skin color, shape of head, and structure and pigment of hair and eyes. This, however, is a palpable error, resting on antiquated and now discredited science.

So-called race characters, then, fall into two groups, the physiological and the psychological; the former are transmitted by biological and the latter by social heredity, whereas biological heredity takes place automatically and entirely unconsciously, by vital processes, and is probably completed in the case of each individual at the moment of conception, certainly not later than birth; social heredity may possibly begin before birth but reaches its maximum activity during childhood—doubtless before the child reaches its tenth year—but continues on into adult life. While no small amount of social inheritance is transmitted unconsciously, it is also true that a large amount of conscious effort may be expended by the parents and by society in transmitting and by the individual in receiving or acquiring this social inheritance. Our entire school system is one vast

conscious organ for the transmission of social inheritance.

Biological inheritance (*i. e.*, physiological race character) is moreover transmitted exclusively from parents to offspring, while social inheritance is not so limited. Not only do older brothers and sisters, and all kindred who live in social relations with the child, help to impart the social inheritance, but every individual with whom the growing child comes into contact exerts his measure of influence. In imparting social inheritance the language learned and used, the literature read, the music heard, the actual conduct of men and women observed, the moral life and religious conceptions and motives taught—all have a vital part. They determine the character, the ruling conceptions and motives, and the kind of life the individual will lead. In a word, social inheritance is a factor of superlative force in creating the personality of the individual. It makes a man to be the man he is. It gives concrete content to his mind, furnishes the categories of his thinking and thus determines his race, sociologically speaking.

Physiological and social heredity, still further, have no necessary connection. Stated in other words, physiological heredity does not determine the nature or content of the social inheritance. An infant of any given race, being reared in the social environment of that race, receives, of course, its social

inheritance. But a child of any race under ten or twelve years of age removed to the social environment of another race is fully capable of receiving the social inheritance of that race. It can learn the language and enter into the life of the adopting race just as easily as into that of the parent race. Advancing years with loss of plasticity deprives one of this capacity. A full-grown adult has little capacity for acquiring new languages and civilizations.

Of course, one element of physiological heredity is that which gives the infant its nerves and brain and back of these its psychic nature. That psychic nature, however, is only a latent capacity until called into activity by the social environment; this determines its concrete content and the forms of its activity. Within that psychic nature there doubtless are latent certain tendencies which might be regarded as race temperament. But even race temperament is predominantly, if not exclusively, directed by the social inheritance.

Exactly what takes place in cross-breeding, scientists do not yet fully know. Does the full heredity of both races persist in the offspring? Does their average determine its forms and life? Are some elements preponderant for a season and then others? In vague general terms it has long been thought that the two races are merged, producing an average. The discovery of the so-called Mendelian law of inheritance, however, renders this view no longer ac-

ceptable. Definite groups of characters seem to be inherited as a whole and either to determine the offspring or to lie latent for one or more generations. In certain plants and animals Mendel's law of recessive and dominant unitary characters seems to hold; but how far it applies to man and what characteristics are involved are matters as yet by no means certain. Extended scientific study will be needful before we shall have anything like real knowledge of these matters.

This much, however, is certain: in the crossing of races there is mutual give and take; even a single individual makes its contribution to the biological heritage of the group with which it crosses, provided, of course, the offspring are permanently fertile.

In contrast to the inevitable give and take of biological assimilation is the remarkable absence of all necessity in social assimilation; an assimilating race may receive nothing from the race assimilated. A larger body, on the other hand, may be assimilated to the social standard of the smaller body. Social assimilation has no necessary causal dependence on biological assimilation. Japan, as already stated, and, indeed, the whole Orient, furnish striking examples of large and rapid social assimilation of Western life, the causes being wholly social.

"Ron yori shoko," as the Japanese, say. Concrete facts count more than abstract discussion.

A Japanese infant, left an orphan in Oakland in

1898, was reared in an American orphanage. While her biological heritage, accordingly, was entirely Japanese, her social heritage was entirely American. On going to school she proved to be a bright student and surpassed her American schoolmates. But she developed an abnormal dislike, even hatred, of Japanese. Although her body and face were Japanese, her spirit and mind were markedly American and there was constant war in her soul. At twelve years of age she was placed in a Japanese boarding-school and began to live with Japanese children and to study the Japanese language. This was a terrible ordeal. A year ago, however, becoming a Christian, she became reconciled to the mysterious providence of the Heavenly Father. Peace now reigns within; she trusts that He has some great work for her to do through her strange experience. But her interests are all American. In the high school she is a favorite with scholars and teachers. She is ahead of the average girl of her age in following, through the daily paper, the significant events in current history such as the Balkan War, the new tariff, and currency legislation. Here is a clear case. Her biological heredity is pure Japanese, but this has not given her a single Japanese idea or word nor a particle of Japanese patriotism.

A gentleman of my acquaintance was for many years a missionary in China. While there he adopted two Chinese girls who had been abandoned and

brought them up in his family as his own children. They learned to speak, read, and write English perfectly, and in every respect except appearance they were Americans. I have known them personally for forty years.

Another friend of mine was a missionary in Japan for over a score of years. Through an extraordinary set of circumstances he adopted a little girl of four whose mother was American and father Japanese. At the time of the adoption the father had died and the mother was living in Philadelphia but died not long after. This girl was reared as a daughter by my friend and his wife. For a year or more I took my turn in her daily instruction. Unless one were on the lookout for Japanese traits, no one would be apt to notice them in her. In her twenties she was an exceptionally handsome woman. And as for her mental and moral traits, she is wholly American, having been reared as such.

My parents were missionaries in the Caroline Islands from 1854-61. Among the most serious obstacles to their work were the lives of dissolute white sailors. One of them, a notorious murderer, at his death gave my father a four-year old girl born to him by one of those savage women. Could a child possibly have a worse ancestry? My parents reared her as the eldest daughter. I thought of her as my oldest sister and did not know until after her death, ten years later, that she was an adopted

child. She learned to speak English and to be in every respect one of us. My mother said of her that she never knew her to do anything wrong; she was perfectly obedient, gentle, kind, and truthful. She evinced no tendencies to theft and deceit, not even to ill temper. She was absolutely trustworthy.

These and numberless similar cases that might be cited show that the complete adoption by an individual of one race of the language, ideas, motives, and mode of life of an alien race takes place without the slightest difficulty due to biological race difference. In other words, if there are obstacles to the social assimilation of races they are not inherent in their biological differences.

The possibility of race assimilation through intermarriage, if continuously fertile progeny result, probably few doubt. Anthropologists assert that practically all modern peoples spring from vast intermixture of bloods. Especially is this true of so-called Anglo-Saxons—more truly described as Anglo-Kelts. It is also true of the Japanese. Malay, Mongolian, Tartar, Caucasian (Aino), and Negro or Negrito elements all entered in. Even yet elements of these distinct types are occasionally distinguishable. Sometimes traces of the Jewish type appear and there are historical grounds for holding that a Jewish colony once existed in Japan which, however, has been entirely absorbed through intermarriage.

To class the Japanese as Mongolians is as unscientific as it is to say that Americans are Kelts or Norsemen.

Of course, if intermarriage results in offspring not permanently fertile from generation to generation, and especially through the critical second generation, biological assimilation is impossible. Two intermingling races would in that case each remain permanently pure because of the infertility of half-breeds. Race purity would then take care of itself. One of the striking facts, however, regarding the human race is the degree to which fertility exists between races. This shows that the differences are not so fundamental, biologically, as many hold. This wide interfertility speaks powerfully for the biological unity of the human race.

The objection, then, to intermarriage is not to be based on the impossibility of biological assimilation but, if valid, on social and psychic grounds.

Many assert the existence of strong instinctive shrinking from physical contact with one of another color. It is to be noted, however, that such instinctive abhorrence is by no means universal. In the days of slavery, and throughout history, owners of Negro slaves have not shrunk, on account of color, from marriage in the biological sense. Moreover, members of the white race, in their world-wide travels among the colored races, soon become so familiar with the colored skin that the alleged instinctive antipathy offers no restraint to their passions. In-



Mr. Otto Fukushima.

Mrs. Otto Fukushima (American)



The four daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Fukushima; typical American-Japanese children.



deed, one of the saddest and most discouraging aspects of the white man's presence in Japan, and in all the East, is the ease with which so many of them take up loose sexual relations. It is difficult to persuade one who knows what goes on there that there is any such instinctive biological race antipathy as is asserted. As President Eliot has pointed out, Japanese seem to possess the race-preserving instinct more strongly than the white race.

Of more importance is the objection that mixed progeny are undesirable; that while they lack the virtues they possess the failings of both races; that they are weak in body and mind and especially in moral character. Biological assimilation, therefore, though possible, is declared to be undesirable. These statements are made with great dogmatic confidence. They are based, however, on observations of the progeny of immoral men with Negro, Indian, Hindoo, Chinese, and Japanese women. The illustration of the product of race mixture commonly used by those who oppose it is the mule, ugly in nature, and hybrid.

Such arguments, however, are not scientifically convincing. They ignore many important facts and factors. They forget that the results of cross-breeding in both plants and animals are, in many cases, highly valuable, preserving good and eliminating bad characteristics; that the virile races to-day are the progeny of vast race mixtures; that, while the cross-

ing of Caucasian with Negro, for instance, may be bad, it by no means follows that their crossing with Chinese or Japanese may not be good; that in human reproduction care in education is of the highest importance, culture seeming oftentimes to count for more than parentage; that the crossing of whites with Asiatics or with blacks, *under favorable conditions*, is very rare; and, finally, that the intermarriage of Japanese and whites is so recent that there has as yet been no opportunity for observation of results to the third and fourth generation. The disastrous results of immoral sexual relations of the races should not be regarded as furnishing light of any particular value on this problem. Until adequate facts shall have been recorded and all these considerations taken account of, it is absurd to dogmatize either pro or con as to the impossibility or undesirability, biologically speaking, of the intermarriage of Japanese and whites.

Among the physiological differences distinguishing Japanese from Americans, two deserve special mention in this connection.

The placid face of a Japanese reveals to occidental eyes no clew to the emotions of the heart. There is no facial play of expression due to the ceaseless tension and relaxation of the surface muscles of his face, as is customary in Occidentals; no manifestation of thought by unconscious movements of the eye; no flushing of the brow and cheeks as feelings surge

back and forth in the heart. This is one of the factors which make the Oriental seem so inscrutable, so incalculable.

American instinctive distrust of Japanese is often due to this single cause. Americans commonly feel that the real self of the Japanese individual is ever in concealment; that he wears a mask, is not really frank, and cannot be trusted. And this seems to be a congenital race characteristic, a correlation of defect in moral nature with an inherent physiological trait. It is not a matter of which Japanese are conscious, nor is it subject to voluntary control. Better acquaintance with Japan, however, reveals the error of these judgments. Japanese stolidity is an instance of the way in which social habit and tradition control facial expression. The Japanese are, in fact, an extremely emotional people. Stoicism, however, has been deliberately cultivated. Feudalism, with its two-sworded *samurai* ever at hand, made it imperative that men should not wear their hearts or minds on their sleeves. Stolid expression, concealing whatever might be going on within, was more useful in the struggle for existence than a coat of mail; and this became the social custom and was passed on from generation to generation by unconscious imitation. It became long since a race character, and appears to be congenital, yet it is not; for the faces of young children are often exceedingly vivacious. Japanese children brought over to America while still young, or born

here, promptly develop habits of facial expression like those of Americans. They develop no masks. They are frank and direct. This is one of the striking changes which take place through social assimilation, making American-born Japanese American in bodily appearance as well as in mental habit. This, however, is not confined to children. Adults also, though in less degree, are taking on American characteristics in this respect. A group of my Japanese students who have come to America told of their surprise at seeing how all Japanese in California, even the least educated, have undergone strange modification in facial expression. An American lady in missionary work for Japanese in California remarked to me how much more frank, direct, and trustworthy those Japanese were who had lived for years in California than those who had only recently arrived from Japan.

Another factor helping to produce the same assimilating result is the acquisition of the English language from infancy. The utterance and articulation of sounds in Japanese require a different use of tongue and lips and throat from that required by English. But function forms the organ, as Darwin has successfully taught us. There is, accordingly, a Japanese face produced by the Japanese language and an English face produced by the English language. Now the American-born Japanese child, learning to speak English in the years of plastic growth, merely through

his acquisition of English, develops the characteristic features of the English face. And Japanese children who do not learn to speak their own language lose, of course, those features of the Japanese face which are due to the Japanese language. In the terms of evolutionary science these race characters are due to the Lamarckian factor of use and disuse.

If, as Neo-Lamarckians hold, the character thus acquired is inherited, then there will be progressive evolution from the Japanese to the English face.

This suggests other changes in the bodily form of American-born Japanese due to life in America which, however, will not be discussed. But, in the light of these two characteristics, it is easy to see that social assimilation, even without intermarriage, produces important changes in the very appearance of offspring of alien races born and bred in this land.

It has always been supposed that biological assimilation could take place only by the intermarriage of races. Yet even this position is being assailed by the recent discovery of profound physiological changes occurring in the children of immigrants.

The statistical investigations by Professor Boas,¹ of Columbia University, of children born of the same parents before and after arrival in this country show that, apart from intermarriage, biological changes

¹ "Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants," by F. Boas. Published by the Immigration Commission, 1912.

take place in what have been supposed to be the most strongly fixed of race characters—viz., the shape of the head. So important is this discovery that his statements in regard to it are here given verbatim.

“The investigation has shown much more than was anticipated. There are not only decided changes in the rate of development of immigrants, but there is also a far-reaching change in the type—a change which cannot be ascribed to selection or mixture, but which can only be explained as due directly to the influence of the environment. This conclusion has been tested in many different ways, and seems to be amply proved. . . . The bodily traits which have been observed to undergo a change under American environment belong to those characteristics of the human body which are considered the most stable. We therefore are compelled to draw the conclusion that if these traits change under the influence of environment, presumably none of the characteristics of the human types that come to America remain stable. The adaptability of the immigrant seems to be very much greater than we had a right to suppose before our investigations were instituted” (page 2).

“The influence of the American environment makes itself felt with increasing intensity according to the time elapsed between the arrival of the mother and the birth of the child” (page 57).

“In other words the effect of the American environment makes itself felt immediately, and increases slowly with the increase of time elapsed between the immigration of the parents and the birth of the child” (page 61).

“It would be too much to claim that all the dis-

tinct European types become the same in America, without mixture, solely by the action of the new environment. . . . I confess I do not consider such a result as likely. . . . Whatever the extent of these bodily changes may be, . . . we are necessarily led to grant also a great plasticity of the mental make up of human types. . . . From these facts we must conclude that the fundamental traits of the mind, which are closely correlated with the physical condition of the body and whose development continues over many years after physical growth has ceased, are the more subject to far-reaching changes" (page 76).

The investigations of Mr. Fishberg¹ in regard to the Jewish race confirm this general position. The following sentences from his important work merit careful consideration:

"It is an undeniable fact that the cast of countenance depends as much, probably more, on the social milieu than on anthropological traits. Moreover, the cast of countenance changes very easily under a change of social environment. I have noted such a rapid change among immigrants to the United States. . . . This new physiognomy is best noted when some of these immigrants return to their native homes; it is evident then even to the casual observer that they radically differ in appearance from their compatriots who have not been in the United States. This fact offers excellent proof that the social elements in which a man moves exercise a profound influence on his physical features. . . . We have

¹ "The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment," by Maurice Fishberg. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

seen that to-day the bulk of the Jews who have lived for centuries in Africa present predominantly an African physical type; those in Asia are mostly of Asiatic type; and the European Jews are mostly of the anthropological types met with among European races."

In his abstract of the concluding chapter Mr. Fishberg says that "anthropologically the Jews are not a race." The work is well illustrated, showing both individual and composite pictures of the different types of Jews, such as the Turanian, Teutonic, Slavic, Mongoloid, Negroid, and others. This striking work is a valuable contribution to the discussion of race assimilability, completely undermining many a popular opinion and even scientific theory as to race non-assimilability.

Neither Professor Boas nor Mr. Fishberg attempts to account for the phenomena they have so voluminously described. They speak of these transformations as the result of the environment. It seems clear to the writer that much more is implied than first appears. Certainly it is not the mechanical or chemical or physical features of the environment working by mechanical or physical methods which produce the results. In some way the mysterious building powers transmitted by parents to children are modified before birth. In these phenomena do we not have evidence of subconscious prenatal influence of the mother on her offspring? And may we

not name this method of race transformation Biological Assimilation through Subconscious Imitation?

By processes, then, of which we are at present ignorant, children born in any land by parents of an alien race tend to certain structural and physiological characteristics of the dominant race. This is a fact of great importance, for if biological assimilation takes place without intermarriage, then *a fortiori* is psychic assimilation to be expected.

There are, then, three factors in race assimilation: biological assimilation through intermarriage, biological assimilation without intermarriage; and social assimilation. While analytic thought separates these three factors, in actual life they ever work together. Biological assimilation through subconscious imitation exerts especially powerful influence in cases of mixed marriages, for it is reinforced by the biological heredity of one of the parents. This consideration throws much light on the well-known fact that Eurasians born in Asia are so conspicuously Asiatic in appearance. This fact has been ascribed to the prepotency of Asiatic biological heredity, which explanation is doubtless an error. The newly discovered factor in biological assimilation is highly important for a right forecast of the results of race intermixture. While Eurasians born in Asia and especially of Asiatic mothers are conspicuously Asiatic, Eurasians born in America and especially of Ameri-

can mothers we may expect to be conspicuously American. Many facts substantiate this contention. The writer was amazed at the slight Japanese appearance of the three children of Mrs. Aoki, an Anglo-Saxon, whom he recently had the pleasure of meeting at Los Angeles. The children were so Caucasian in appearance one would not think of the Japanese element unless his attention were first called to it.

Special attention is called to the impossibility of defining the inherent psychic characteristics of races. It has been frequently attempted. Men have thought they could distinguish, for instance, between the oriental and occidental types of mind. In the attempt to do so writers frequently ascribe every good trait to the Occidental and the opposite bad trait to the Oriental. The latter is suspicious, underhanded, visionary, deceitful, impractical, autocratic, impersonal, imperious, given to lust, despises women, and so forth *ad libitum*; while the Occidental is the opposite in every respect.

Some, taking the opposite tack, have lauded the Oriental and used his supposed superiorities as a club with which to castigate Occidental failings. Both extremes are equally at fault. They describe imaginary beings quite unlike the human beings of flesh and blood that inhabit the world. The abiding resultant impression made upon the writer by his life in the Orient is the fact that in their intrinsic natures Japanese are remarkably like Occidentals.

The differences, of which there are many, are relatively superficial and are ever changing, while their permanent psychic characteristics are astonishingly like ours. East and West have more in common than in difference.

Moreover, it is ever to be remembered, that just as there are sharp differences between English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, all of Great Britain, and also between the English, French, Spanish, and German peoples, so there are sharp differences between the people of Kagoshima, Kyoto, and Sendai in Japan, and between Japanese and Chinese, Koreans, Hindoos, Persians, Turks, and Arabs. These differences, however, belong to the psychic characteristics of the social orders, not to the inherent and unchanging psychic natures of the peoples. To talk, therefore, of the oriental consciousness, as though they possessed an essential psychic race unity, embracing all their differences and differentiating them from all Westerners, is to speak of what in fact does not exist. Mr. Bliss Perry, in his illuminating book on "The American Mind," describes well "the wiser scepticism of our day concerning all hard and fast racial distinctions." "A race psychology," declares Professor Josiah Royce, "is still a science for the future to discover. . . . We do not scientifically know what the true racial varieties of mental type are. No doubt there are such varieties. The judgment day or the science of the future, may demon-

strate what they are. We are at present very ignorant regarding the whole matter."

Amateur race psychologists write as though they knew the races in detail. As a matter of fact, they are guided by their own *a priori* theories. They catch at a few facts here and there in harmony with their theory and build thereon gigantic dogmatic structures.

A few years ago there came to Japan an eminent German professor of comparative religion. He had visited Persia and India, Siam and China, and was then completing his study of oriental religions in Japan. He stated that he wanted to get first-hand information, so as not to be dependent on books. And he forthwith began to discourse to the writer, who listened with rapt attention to his fine discriminations between the religious feelings and insights of the various races. Unfortunately, the writer ventured to ask how he had learned all these facts; had he employed interpreters? for surely he could not have mastered all the languages in so short a time. "Oh, no," he replied; "in the matter of religious feelings it is impossible to make use of interpreters, for they could not possibly understand what I am studying, much less could they inquire of pilgrims what I wish to learn, nor report back to me their replies. In this matter language is useless. My method is simply to watch. I merely observe the faces of the worshippers and pilgrims and

know by my own insight the feelings that fill their souls."

There you are: a scientific German! a professor of psychology and philosophy diving into his own inner consciousness for the facts of oriental religious life! Not every one confesses his method so frankly; but the great majority of tourists and "students" of things oriental, who cannot talk with a native of the country in his own tongue, nor read a line of the daily press, after spending in those lands a few weeks or months and receiving certain impressions, fail to ask how much is objective fact and how much subjective fiction; and then, bound to write interestingly, they proceed to describe the "inscrutable" Oriental, with his strange ways of life and, to us, impossible views of human relationships. Such is the material that has been largely to blame for the extraordinary misconceptions of the East so prevalent in the West.

Lafcadio Hearn, Sir Edwin Arnold, Percival Lowell, and such writers have described most entertainingly and with captivating literary skill the Japan of their dreams, but not the real Japan of flesh and blood. Superficial peculiarities are exaggerated without measure, deeper identities are overlooked, until we are led to believe that Orientals are so different from us that really they are unintelligible and we are equally so to them; there is a deep, impassable gulf fixed between them and us. It then follows, as a

matter of course, that we and they are mutually unassimilable. And this is the conviction that now possesses many intelligent men and women in America. The few Japanese whom such Americans do meet in America and find fairly rational and intelligible they regard as exceptions and, in any case, as doubtless possessing Japanese characteristics which elude them so that they cannot trust their own experience.

The writer regards these opinions and writings not only as erroneous but also as injurious. They are affecting, seriously, the relations of the nations. In his experience, the writer has found the Japanese thoroughly human; they are fundamentally like us and wish to be regarded and treated so. They wish to be accepted as brothers in the great world of history and in the forward movement of mind. They wish to enter fully into our lives and to be allowed full fellowship. They keenly resent the charge that they are inscrutable and unassimilable.

That there are no psychological differences between East and West is by no means our contention. There certainly are. These the writer has, in a measure, studied and described in his work on "Japanese Evolution, Social and Psychic." Our general contention is that such psychic differences as distinguish the East from the West are products of social life, belong to the social order, and are, therefore, subject to rapid change. The psychic nature, however, is

identical East and West because it is human. That which unites them is universal and cosmic, while that which separates them is superficial and insular. On first acquaintance they may seem inscrutable and non-assimilable; in fact, however, there is no insuperable obstacle to complete mutual understanding and assimilation. The entire history of Japan during the past fifty years is one grand illustration of this. Japanese character is rapidly undergoing changes now that feudalism has been abandoned and occidental modes of political, industrial, educational, judicial, and social organization and life have been introduced.

Japan herself furnishes the refutation to the argument that the East never changes. These changes are not confined to the surface of things as the hard-pressed critic often asserts; they take place in the innermost parts of the Oriental's life of the spirit. China is rapidly moving now along the same road. Here are whole peoples, millions upon millions, who are voluntarily taking over new modes of thought, new methods of life, new conceptions of the world. Who can logically contend that these changes, introduced from the West, will not and cannot effect changes in their inner character and bring them into ever closer similarity to the West?

Old Japan, Japan before the advent of Perry, was apparently so fixed, and her mode of thought and life and reasoning so different from those of the West,

that the contention of unassimilable race differences might have seemed logically and experimentally defensible. But that contention can no longer stand. New Japan has destroyed it, for she is rapidly assimilating our entire occidental civilization and thereby bringing her inner life into increasingly close harmony with ours. The degree to which Japan has already advanced in assimilation of occidental civilization is little appreciated in the West. The average tourist in Japan misses the most significant elements of new Japan through his interest in that which is merely quaint or curious.

CHAPTER VIII

ARE JAPANESE ASSIMILABLE? (CONTINUED)

IN view of the facts and principles already considered, we might rest our discussion at this point, and argue that the objection to the presence of Japanese in America which is based on the confusion of assimilation with amalgamation is baseless. Since assimilation goes on independently of amalgamation, the objection falls to the ground. A correspondent, for instance, says: "The essential objection to my mind to having Japanese in this country is that we should not take into our midst a people with whom we cannot amalgamate." An adequate reply is that amalgamation is not a necessary consequence of having them here, and that since complete assimilation to our civilization can take place without intermarriage, the objection raised to their presence is not valid.

President Eliot makes substantially the same point in his report, already referred to. "The immigration question need not be complicated with any racial problem, provided each of the several races abiding in the same territory keeps itself pure, as the Japanese do wherever they live." He points out

with repeated insistence that in the East different races have learned the wisdom of maintaining their race purity even though occupying the same territory.

However, since many feel that the presence of Japanese in our midst will inevitably lead to amalgamation of races, specific consideration of this question seems desirable.

The condition most favorable for race assimilation is that which arises when an alien father enters into the civilization of the mother, is accepted by her kindred, and the child is reared in full parental love with the friendship of kindred. Here the child receives no social disability from the father's alien blood. In case the family has the necessary financial ability and the mother herself is possessed of the best social heritage, that is to say, the culture of her race as expressed in the language, literature, music, art, morality, and religion of her people, these are imparted to her child not otherwise than if the father were one of her own race. Social is here aided by biological assimilation.

Where such ideal conditions can be secured it would probably make no difference whether the father were Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, or Negro. The essential point is that the mother would love and rear her child without having to overcome social obstruction in the shape of race prejudice and more or less of social ostracism. Children are assimilated to the race of the mother more easily

than to that of the father, because the mother, of necessity, uses her native tongue in rearing her children.

Assimilation, however, may take place, as has already been stated, regardless of intermarriage. In case the child is adopted at infancy by parents of another race having the requisite education, culture, and means for it, and in case they love and rear it as their own, the child in question will be completely assimilated psychically though not in the least biologically.

The case is much more difficult in which the parents migrate to an alien land and there bear and rear their children. The degree in which the children will be assimilated to the new civilization will depend on many factors, but they are wholly social. Are the immigrants welcomed and treated as friends by the adopted land? Do the parents desire to give their children complete education in the language of their adopted land and do they have the means for it? Or do they, on the contrary, desire to keep their children loyal to their own native land, giving them little or no foreign education, requiring their children to master their own ancestral language and literature? And further, from infancy, does the mother sing the native songs to her children and instil feelings of patriotism and devotion and admiration for national heroes? And, on the other hand, does the adopted land give them welcome and edu-

cational, economic, and social opportunity or does it refuse these or at least begrudge them?

These are the principal factors that determine the degree of social assimilation which children experience in a foreign land. Of course, the influence of the parents may be exerted in one direction, while that of the social, educational, and economic situation may work in the opposite direction. The results will be mixed and highly complex. But the point to be clearly remembered is that the degree of social assimilation that actually takes place depends entirely on the social conditions of the home and the environment.

The United States has been an extraordinary experimental laboratory of assimilation. Here all the peoples of Europe have intermingled. First social assimilation went on apace and then race intermarriage. As to the complete social assimilation of the descendants of all immigrants from Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no one has any doubt. This may be vaguely thought by some to have taken place through intermarriage, but that is far from the case. Are there not many families of unmixed Puritan, German, or Dutch ancestry, and yet are they the less American? Do they lack in social assimilation?

A striking illustration of biological race purity combined with social assimilation is afforded by the Jews. Their religious faith and the religious hatred



The mother on the left is half American and half Japanese. The daughter is three-quarters American and one-quarter Japanese. The mother and son on the right are pure Japanese. The mother came as a young girl to California, where the son was born. This photograph illustrates the contention of Professor Boas in regard to children of immigrants born in this country.

of Christians in Europe throughout the centuries served to prevent their intermarriage with the peoples among whom they lived. Nevertheless, they with difficulty preserved their Hebrew tongue. Wherever the political and social antipathies have even partially broken down the Jews have lost their Hebrew language, as in Germany, France, England, and America.

In the United States they are entering into such full political and social intercourse with other races that marriage restrictions are now rapidly giving way. If the present movement continues, it will only be a matter of time before the Jews of America will be as completely assimilated, biologically, as the French Huguenots have been. Yet, in spite of the many obstacles that have interfered with assimilation, both biological and social, who will say that the Jews of New York of the third and fourth generation are not, politically and socially, well assimilated to our American life? They are cordial supporters of our social order and are taking their share in the progressive moral and spiritual movements of the times. Surely they are as loyal Americans and patriotic citizens as we have.

The power of the free political, judicial, educational, and economic institutions of America to assimilate the various antagonistic populations of Europe is one of the striking features of modern life. Our institutions are being put to a terrific test by millions

of raw immigrants. But the evidence is clear and convincing that from these masses, even in the second generation, we are securing enthusiastic and intelligent Americans, loyal to the core to the characteristic features of our country.

But the significant fact is that these assimilative processes are social rather than biological, and can, therefore, take place with amazing rapidity. And this is exactly because it takes place in the realm of the soul and not of the blood.

Here we come upon one of the outstanding characteristics of man as man. The individual human soul is both formed and transformed by social heredity, whereas the animal body is dependent for nature and life on biological heredity. Advantages derived by cat or bird or dog through happy parental mutations or variations (even if, with Neo-Lamarckians, we allow the inheritance of acquired characters) are transmitted only to direct progeny. In man any advantageous psychic, social, or economic variation is transmissible, not alone to biological offspring, but to every member of the human race.

We have high authority for holding that the true children of Abraham are not they who inherit his blood but they who share his spirit. In a word, the characteristics of man as man belong to the realm of the spirit and are communicable by social heredity, regardless of the question of biological descent.

The intermarriage of whites and Japanese is not

analogous to that of whites and Negroes. This for various reasons. Caucasians and Japanese are, to begin with, much closer. The Japanese race already contains considerable white blood. Many a Japanese of high social rank could easily pass for an Italian or Spaniard. Furthermore, the two races have lived under the same general climatic conditions for over two thousand years in the north temperate zone. Their general courses of civilizational development, likewise, have been strikingly parallel. Both have experienced no little social discipline—if anything, the discipline of the Japanese being more severe than that of the European. Both possess highly developed industrial and political institutions.

In actual experience results are what we should expect. The offspring of mixed marriages are oftentimes practically indistinguishable from Caucasians. The color distinction is the first to break down. The Japanese hair and eye exert a stronger influence. So far as the observation of the writer goes, there is a tendency to striking beauty in Americo-Japanese. The mental ability, also, of the offspring of Japanese and white marriages is not inferior to that of children of either race.

In Tokyo there are not less than a score of families of mixed marriages. The father, in most cases, was a student in some foreign land for a number of years. He married a German, English, French, or American girl and brought her home to Japan. There,

oppressed by no social disgrace, possessed of the financial and social ability to bring up the children to the best of his knowledge, with the aid of his foreign wife to give what foreign accomplishments he might not otherwise be able to provide, he is disproving by his children the sinister predictions of race prejudice.

There are also in Japan foreign gentlemen who are rearing Anglo-Japanese, German-Japanese, and Franco-Japanese families. Here, too, the results, as a rule, are not unsatisfactory. Viscount Aoki, for instance, has a German wife. His eldest daughter was recently married to a German baron and has gone to live permanently in Germany. The wife of Mr. Ozaki, until recently the mayor of the city of Tokyo, was the daughter of a Japanese father and an English mother. She has proved herself a brilliant author in several English books on things Japanese. The late editor of the *Japan Mail*, Captain Brinkley, for over forty years a resident of Japan, author of one of the largest and most important works on Japan, had a Japanese wife and successfully reared a large family of boys and girls.

Japanese in America, also, not a few, have married Americans. Doctor Takamine, for instance, the illustrious discoverer of adrenalin, married an American lady, born and reared in New Orleans. Of his two sons, one has completed his college course at Yale University and is at present studying in Paris

in the Pasteur Institute for his Ph.D. The other is preparing for business. Mr. Kawakami, the illustrious author of several important works in English on Japan, has an American wife, whose children, still young, are said to be so American that no one would suspect a Japanese father. Mr. and Mrs. Fukushima (the latter a Caucasian), of New York, have an interesting family of four daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Aoki, of Los Angeles, have three beautiful Caucasian-appearing children, who show the race traits of their mother.

In some cases the offspring of mixed marriages are remarkably precocious. I personally know the only daughter of a Japanese father and a Chinese mother. The mother from infancy had good American care and education and later, from fourteen or fifteen years of age, she received Japanese education. She proved to have unusual musical gifts. The father is a Japanese of the Japanese, unyielding in his loyalty to Japanese ideals. The daughter, reared in California and Hawaii, is a most precocious child in all subjects save arithmetic. At seven years of age she was reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to herself with great avidity. Fairy-tales and nature books she has read by the dozen, although but slightly over eight years old. On leaving with her mother for a distant town, she borrowed Hawthorne's works in four volumes, as she was then in the midst of his "Twice-Told Tales" and could not bear to stop.

There are few girls of her age who have read so many books.

Although the period during which intermarriage between white and Japanese is still so short that the results of several generations of amalgamation are not to be had, yet it is clear from such experience as is already available that when the home circumstances are wholesome and the children are reared with care, such as would be given were there no race mixture, the results are good both as to psychic powers and physical appearances. It is not yet clear whether we can say, as in the case of the mixture of Hawaiian and Chinese, that the results are superior. Experimentation must go on for several decades and on a much wider scale before we may expect definite results.

Biologists will ask whether Eurasians are not apt to be sterile. I know of four Japanese Eurasians who have children, while I know of no married Japanese Eurasian who has none. Some assert that Eurasian children are weak and defective. Reference is made to the Eurasian population of the ports of India, China, and Japan. These do, indeed, tell a pitiful tale of moral degradation and of indifference to the welfare of their offspring on the part of immoral white fathers. This reference, however, confirms the argument. Any children, whatever their race and however pure, reared as those pitiable Eurasians have been, forgotten by their

fathers and neglected by their ignorant mothers, who belong to the lowest classes, would fall into the same unhappy condition. Eurasian children of the ports have, as a rule, never received the full social heritage of either parent, and this not because of any incapacity of the offspring at birth but solely because of the morally culpable indifference and ignorance of the parents.

Having said thus much in defence of the good results of intermarriage between whites and Japanese, the writer would now add, with all the emphasis of which he is capable, that he does not recommend such intermarriage to either Japanese or Americans. Mixed marriages he regards as highly undesirable. In only exceptional cases can there be a "happy home." It may be set down as a universal rule that intermarriage of races should follow, not precede, social assimilation. Suppose that a Japanese man of ordinary social rank and corresponding means marries an American wife in America and takes her back with him to Japan. He has his ideal of a home—a Japanese home—and she has hers of an American home. Her position in her Japanese home, however, is largely determined by the ideals and demands of *his* mother (her mother-in-law) and by all his kindred. Now, for an American girl to take up life in a Japanese home, first coming to know it in adult years; for her to begin then to learn the language and customs of Japan, to cook and to eat

their food and live entirely as they do, would be such an awful experience that, no matter how much her husband might love and seek to help her, it would be a fearful ordeal and could hardly end in permanent happiness. Her health would probably give way under the strain. Moreover, it would be impossible for her to impart to her children a Japanese social heredity. Although she might seek to suppress her social influence, that would be only partly possible. The children she rears could not but be partly foreign in manner and thought as well as in looks.

The case, however, would be quite different if the man is a wealthy Japanese with high social rank who, even in Japan, can afford to live and prefers to live in foreign style and desires his children to be foreign. The probability of a happy marriage would, in this case, be largely increased. But unless the Japanese husband adopts to a large degree the wife's ideal of the social freedom of women, the American wife would find her secluded life almost intolerable. Such cases are not unknown in Japan. The American wife who goes to Japan to live should, of course, be prepared to accept the Japanese ideal as to the home and the duties, obedience and responsibilities of the Japanese wife. Even though the husband may seek to relieve and help her, there are the relatives, especially the female relatives, and peace demands acceptance, also, of their ideals or collision will result and unhappiness follow.

The situation, however, would be altogether different if the Japanese husband, coming young to America, gets his education here and here settles down for life. The question of a happy marriage would then depend on the personal qualities of the couple and on the social acceptance by her family and social circle of her Japanese husband. In this case he must be prepared to accept American ideals. If he does so cordially there may perhaps be no intrinsic objection to the marriage. But, even so, there is more risk than there would be were both members white.

The marriage, however, of an American woman with a Japanese farmer coming from Japan after reaching adult life would be highly dangerous. Such a man could not possibly gain any such knowledge of the American home or American ideals as would be essential.

For an American man, on the other hand, to marry a Japanese wife would be unsatisfactory for reasons of another order. Much would depend, of course, on the country in which they live and the desires of the husband. In any case, it would be relatively easy for her because of the larger freedom given to a wife by Americans than by Japanese. Should he desire, however, to have his children brought up as Americans, while living in Japan, his Japanese wife could not aid him. Inevitably, she would transmit the Japanese social inheritance. She would talk and sing to the children in Japanese. Do what she might

and with all her heart, striving to learn the English language and to be like an American, yet she would be helpless. The case would be different should the pair live in the United States, for the children would there acquire much from their social surroundings, especially after they begin to attend school.

But, without entering into further detail, enough has been said to indicate something of the peril of mixed marriages. Under the most favorable conditions, marriage is to be entered on only with great care. It is a hazardous undertaking when the members belong to different races.

Were the social assimilation of races dependent on intermarriage, the outlook for the United States would be, indeed, foreboding. Such, however, is not the case. It proceeds independently, for it is a matter of social inheritance and is transmitted entirely through social relations.

The great obstacle to the social assimilation of race is race aggregation, which preserves race language and customs; and this is equally true of any race. Provide for social intermixture with the joint education of the children and assimilation will take place with amazing rapidity.

Now, Japanese residing in America desire to have their children associate with Americans that they may learn American customs and the English language. The number of Japanese reared from infancy in America is still few. But in spite of the anti-

Japanese sentiment, which does not furnish the most favorable environment, the results are surprising. Japanese children soon become so Americanized that they have no difficulty in making friendships.

The results in Hawaii of American education on children of all races are highly instructive from the sociological standpoint, justifying the belief that, even in sections where the majority of the families are not American but Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian, yet the American school succeeds to a wonderful degree in imparting the American language and social heritage.

Even under the present relatively unfavorable conditions existing in California, evidences crop out here and there of the transforming power of our schools on young Japanese. I cite two concrete illustrations.

It seems that in the high school in Oakland, California, there are enough Japanese boys to form a small Japanese club. This is not due, I am told, in any way to ostracism, but merely for mutual improvement. Yet those boys are so Americanized that they refer to the Japanese population in the third person, classing themselves with Americans. An auditor was amused to hear those boys say, in discussing the problem of the Japanese in California, that the only thing to do is for "us to educate them and teach them true American ways."

An amusing illustration of this same Americanized

spirit is reported from a kindergarten in Los Angeles. A five-year old Japanese boy was found by his father one day last April sobbing bitterly. On asking the reason, the little fellow replied after some hesitation: "There's going to be war between Japan and America and I'll have to fight you because you are a Japanese."

While preparing the present chapter the writer called upon a Japanese family living in Berkeley, California. The father is a successful business man in San Francisco, of twenty years' standing. The wife is the mother of five children, the two older ones born in Japan and the others here in America. They are all attending school, the eldest, a son, having just entered the university. They are to all intents and purposes American children. I was especially impressed with the daughter, some eighteen years of age. Such a girl would be absolutely impossible in Japan, perfectly free and easy in her conversation with a man, yet perfectly modest and womanly, ready to look you straight in the eye, yet without a sign of rudeness or brazen character. She is fond of the piano, in which she excels. All the children stated that they have no friction or unpleasantness with American young people. They have friendships and visit back and forth. Here is a family of culture, the peer of any American family, already remarkably assimilated socially, though of perfectly pure Japanese stock.

In estimating the problem of Japanese assimilability, there is one important factor which an American would hardly surmise and which he cannot easily grasp, namely, the enormous difficulty of the Japanese language. A long exposition of its characteristics would be needed to illustrate this point adequately. The difficulty may be suggested by the statement that no Japanese child reared wholly in America can acquire both an English education and a reading knowledge of his own language. If he remains in America till he is twelve or thirteen years old and then returns to Japan, he is already so badly handicapped that it is exceedingly difficult for him to get into the Japanese school system. Japanese children in Hawaii and California after school hours commonly attend, from four to six P. M., some Japanese school for the study of their own language. They find, on reaching the age of ten or twelve, that they can read anything in English which their minds can understand, while in Japanese they are still struggling with the mere forms of the Chinese ideographs. English they find easy, while their own language they find increasingly difficult and distasteful.

The result is that Japanese children reared in America lose the reading power of their own language far more surely and rapidly than those of any European immigrants. This is an important fact, for it means that Japanese of the second generation in

America are more rapidly and completely cut off from the social and historical influence of their people than are American-born aliens of any other race.

Among the most common assertions of Japanese critics is the statement that Japanese have an innate, instinctive patriotism, which renders impossible their surrender of allegiance to their native land and desire for citizenship elsewhere. This fact, says the critic, makes it impossible for him to become a truly patriotic citizen of another land or be truly assimilated. Even if he does appear to do so in form, it is only in form; it is in reality a sham, and the more reprehensible on that account, and also the more dangerous to the adopted land.

This objection is based on a mistaken psychology. Patriotism is a psychic trait and is communicated or inherited wholly by social means. It has nothing whatever to do with physiological or biological heredity. As a matter of fact, many Japanese lack the alleged characteristic. Foreign residents in Japan are occasionally amazed by incidents showing how many there are who are not possessed by the conventional spirit of patriotism. A large number of the young men hate military service and seek in every legitimate way, and sometimes in illegitimate ways, to escape it.

At the outbreak of the war with Russia, the writer was astonished to hear of a shrine in the Island of Shikoku, prayer at which was popularly supposed to

secure escape from the draught. Many young men of military age made pilgrimages thither.

Patriotism is psychic and is transmitted by social, not by biological, heredity. The fear, therefore, that Japanese, even of successive generations born in America, can never be assimilated so as to become truly patriotic Americans is baseless.

Those who deny the assimilability of the Japanese have based their belief on a theory of race nature which is no longer tenable. In a word, they are obsessed by the biological conception of man's nature and life. They do not recognize the psychic or spiritual factor, nor do they perceive that this psychic factor modifies in important ways even man's physical life. They think of heredity only in terms of biological analogy and have not a glimpse of social heredity with laws wholly its own. They, accordingly, cannot conceive of the real assimilation by one people of members of another race except by intermarriage and actual interchange of biological heredity. Nor can they understand how, from groups of different peoples and races, a truly homogeneous nation can arise, except through intermarriage and complete blood mixture.

Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, well expresses the consensus of modern scholarship on this point in his "Races and Immigrants in America," where he emphasizes the importance of a single language for establishing the

unity of a people. "This is essential, for *it is not physical amalgamation that unites mankind; it is mental community. To be great, a nation need not be of one blood, it must be of one mind.* . . . If we think together we can act together, and the organ of common thought and action is common language." This principle throws floods of light on the assimilation of alien groups.

Observation of adult Japanese who have been in California for a few years, by unsympathetic Californians who have never been in Japan, may indeed seem to substantiate the view as to Japanese non-assimilability. Observation, however, by one who has lived long in Japan leads to the opposite conclusion. The degree in which Japanese in California have already been changed is highly impressive and prophetic. An American, unfamiliar with the Japanese in their own land, is not in a position to estimate the changes which take place through life in this land. For him to assert that Japanese are unassimilable shows how unscientific is the bent of his mind.

The writer was told by an experienced Japanese teacher of children in Japan that one of his impressive discoveries on coming to America was the fact that Japanese children born and reared here differ so distinctly from children in Japan. Their spirit and even the play of expression on their faces disclose the subtle influences at work transforming them.

Some disputants are ready to admit superficial changes, but in dogged defence of their theories assert them to be only superficial. "Down beneath, the Japanese is unchanged and unchangeable." "Scratch his skin and you will find a Tartar." Here race prejudice and *a priori* dogmatism speak. Such a method of argument precludes all possibility of scientific discussion.

Lafcadio Hearn is quoted in proof of the alleged non-assimilability of the Japanese: "Here is an astounding fact. The Japanese child is as close to you as the European child, perhaps closer and sweeter, because infinitely more natural and naturally refined. Cultivate his mind, and the more it is cultivated the farther you push him from you. Why? Because here the race antipodalism shows itself."

Mr. Hearn has well observed the facts, but miserably failed in the interpretation. The education of the Japanese child *in Japan* does, indeed, push him away from you, an American, *because it gives him the Japanese social inheritance*, the product of thousands of years of divergent social evolution. But educate that same child in America, give him the American social inheritance and the English language and you bind him the more closely to you. Just here is the fallacy into which nearly all fall who insist on Japanese non-assimilability. They are talking about the adult. They forget, or do not

know, that any social heritage whatever can be given to any child, and that, therefore, the child of any race can be assimilated, socially, to any other. And this exactly is the reason also why race aggregations in any land are relatively non-assimilable. It is because the children receive the social heritage of their parents' race with its language rather than that of the country where they live.

The determined defendant of Japanese non-assimilability displays amazing ignorance of the results of modern science which has completely taken the ground from under his feet.

Adequate scientific data are indeed lacking in regard to the desirability of biological assimilation of the Japanese and white races, but the social assimilability of the Japanese is beyond question. In this they do not differ from any other people.

CHAPTER IX

CAN AMERICANS ASSIMILATE JAPANESE?

IN race assimilation there are always two parties, the assimilated and the assimilating. Having considered this problem so far as Japanese nature and capacity are concerned, the question still remains whether *we* are ready to assimilate them. Are we ready to give them such opportunity in our commercial, social, moral, and religious life that they can fully acquire our ways, ideas, ideals, and motives?

Judging from considerable experience, the answer to the question must be negative for northern California. Not only day-laborers, skilled mechanics, and labor leaders, but large numbers of educated people—politicians, bankers, lawyers, merchants, and educators—appear to be unwilling to receive the Japanese in any way whatever into our political, social, or religious life. The Asiatic Exclusion League is bitterly and actively opposed to all Asiatics. The secular press, especially that of northern California, is actively anti-Japanese. Some papers seem to delight in maligning the race, exaggerating and apparently fabricating so-called news calculated to inflame race passion. Stringent anti-Japanese legislation is

widely approved. Certain Young Men's Christian Associations refuse membership to Japanese. Many Christians dislike to see them even in their churches. That social relations with Japanese are impossible and marriage intolerable are emphatically and widely asserted.

A refined and cultivated Japanese lady, graduate of one of our best mission schools for girls in Tokyo, a resident on the coast for a dozen years, perfectly fluent in English and able to profit by an English service, says she has given up going to church because she sees it gives Americans pain. She still remains a Christian.

A Japanese man, repeatedly welcomed in a certain church by one of the deacons, ventured to accost him on the street one day, but was amazed to hear the words: "I'm your friend in church but not elsewhere."

While Japanese children in public schools, on the whole, receive good treatment from teachers and schoolmates, they are not generally welcomed in Sunday-schools.

In 1911 Professor Nitobe (pronounced Neetobey), one of Japan's brilliant men, was on his way through San Francisco to the East, where he spent the year delivering courses of lectures on Japan in half a dozen American universities. When an effort was made in northern California to secure for him an opportunity to speak, the reply was made in at least two



The father of the little girl on the left is Japanese, her mother a Chinese woman with an American and later a Japanese education. The child herself, born in California, had only American training and is proving herself highly gifted. The father of the children on the right is Japanese, and their mother American.



cases that anti-Japanese feeling was so strong that he would hardly be given a fair hearing.

How universal this anti-Japanese feeling is we have no means of knowing. I found many who have no sympathy with it. Some Californians denounce it strongly, especially women. Those who possess it represent it as universal. Those who do not, contend that it is largely confined to the population living about the Bay of San Francisco and in and about Sacramento. Some facts lend color to this contention.

One thing is clear: anti-Japanese forces are organized, active, and vociferous, while pro-Japanese individuals, however many, are unorganized and silent. Practically, therefore, California is in the grip of those who are anti-Japanese. It is a psychological condition which must be recognized and reckoned with. It creates a serious situation and is a powerful obstacle delaying, if not preventing, Japanese assimilation. For race feeling makes one ready to believe the bad he hears and gives no opportunity for hearing the good; the evil deeds of a score or a hundred bad Japanese are generalized and regarded as characteristic of the whole hateful gang. Race feeling invents many a libel which passes for solid truth and serves to promote and to justify more race feeling. It gives no opportunity for corrective experiences and knowledge. Moreover, it weakens the sense of moral responsibility and makes easy

unjust treatment of aliens. This is then condoned or justified. As a rule, moreover, nothing is heard of the sharp practices of American employers of Japanese labor.

Race feeling is one of those emotions of which the possessor is almost inevitably unconscious. So subtly does it work that the subject is sure he is not ruled by it; on the contrary, he thinks himself able to give good and adequate grounds for his antagonism; the object of his dislike is, in fact, so immoral, despicable, and unprincipled, so vulgar, ugly, and uncivilized, or at the very best so absolutely different that any attitude toward him but that of opposition and dislike is incredible.

The customary anti-Japanese argument is that the question is not one of inferiority or superiority; as a simple matter of fact, the Japanese are non-assimilable and undesirable; they are immoral, untrustworthy, tricky, clannish; they are, therefore, intrinsically unpleasant, untrustworthy, unacceptable. It is impossible to like them, and dangerous to welcome them into our political and social system, and especially unto our family life.

Several answers must be made to this position, beyond what has already been said in previous chapters.

Of course it is psychologically impossible to love the unlovely, to like the disagreeable, or trust the untrustworthy. But the fundamental fallacy of the

anti-Japanese position is the assumption that practically all Japanese are disagreeable and untrustworthy, and that it is right, therefore, to treat them in harmony with such feelings. Here is the opportunity for the work of the moral will. A good, strong man can disregard his instinctive antipathies. He can and will deal justly and kindly by the man whom he does not know or like and is inclined to distrust. His goodness will conquer the instinctive race prejudice in his own heart, and by his just and kindly treatment of the alien will win him; and when that has been done the good man can trust and even love the alien who once may indeed have been a bad man. Just this is one of the central truths and vitalizing elements of the Christian gospel throughout the ages: "God loved us while *we* were *still* sinners." "We love him because he *first* loved us." Throughout all time, it is the self-giving, even suffering love of the good for the bad that overcomes the bad and makes them good. True love is prophetic and creative. It does not hold off the unlovely and absolutely refuse all relationship until it has become lovely. Goodness goes out into the byways and hedges. It seeks the man in the gutter, the woman on the street corner, and the stranger in illness or prison or trouble. It extends the helping, friendly hand, and by trusting makes trustworthy those who had been false. This is the secret of all moral regeneration. It assimilates the bad to the good by

subordinating the instinctive, selfish emotions to the rational and moral will. My experiences in Japan assure me that the Japanese, because of their long feudal history and character formed thereby, are peculiarly susceptible to the influences of personal good-will and kindness; that is, they are peculiarly assimilable under right and wholesome moral influences.

Evil in the Japanese will not be overcome by evil in us nor by refusal to associate with them, but only by positive outgoing goodness. By this alone can we draw them to our ideals of life, and when that is accomplished we shall find that we can like and even love them. But let us remember that in every case we must deal with the individual.

The danger to ourselves of seeking to assimilate those unlike us, especially in moral ideal, may be admitted; but *all* social life has its dangers. Refusal of social relations is highly dangerous. Our own development, indeed, depends on meeting and rightly conquering dangers.

The writer does not advocate ostentatious professions of friendship for Japanese. He does not ask business men to trust irresponsible Japanese, nor that cultured American ladies shall treat as intimate companions uneducated Japanese women who can speak little or no English; they need not assert fond friendship for, and insist on society relations with, domestics or farm-hands. The Japanese who has de-

liberately deceived or defrauded can no more be trusted or admitted to one's home or into business relations than a white man who has done the same thing. It is always important to insist on strict accuracy and honesty; that is the truly *kind* policy. But let the employer or mistress be sure that the employed really understands what is wanted. And be sure also that the work required or payment offered is not unreasonable. And, in cases of difficulty, call in the secretary of the Japanese Association, and always give the other side the benefit of the doubt.

In dealing with a Japanese, remember that he is a stranger and among a people to him very, very strange. His training has been feudal and his morality the same. He is a child in matters financial; sharp intellectually, but without inherited business principles and, as a rule, quite without business experience. Be kind in ways of *personal* favor and win his personal good-will. Let him share in Christmas and other pleasures; ask after his health and his relatives. If he has children, notice them and occasionally give them a present. Never order him about in surly or impatient tones, and above all never resort to brute force. Many Americans and Europeans have the idea that brute force is the only way to get an Asiatic to obey; it is the greatest mistake in the world, certainly so far as Japanese are concerned.

When, as occasionally happens, Japanese of cul-

ture, education, and good command of English appear, be ready to go at least half-way in friendliness. Acquaintance will in some cases ripen into appreciation and finally into mutual friendship. The writer asks for no forcing process, no artificial professions. All he asks is that Japanese be not treated differently from aliens of any other land and turned down at the outset merely because they are Asiatic. Give every man a chance on the basis of his own individual character. True friendships can arise only as there is mutual advance and response.

As an instance of kindly treatment, consider the following: An owner of a ranch not far from San José employs one Japanese permanently and four during the summer. He has been much perplexed how to get at them, for they know so little English and he, of course, knows no Japanese. He recently met a returned lady missionary from Japan and soon arranged to have her make him a visit. On the day appointed the Japanese workers were told of the coming of the missionary and were given time off for an interview. They dressed themselves in their best and in due time appeared. The host invited them into his parlor and later to the veranda, providing refreshments and treating them as guests. For several hours the conversation went on in Japanese, one of the men proving to be a well-educated and devout Buddhist. At the close, acting as spokesman, he thanked the missionary and the

host for their kindness, and said he had lived in California for six years and this was the first time that any one had ever spoken to him about Christianity.

Does not this incident provide a suggestion? Many scores of missionaries pass through San Francisco every year, on their way to and from Japan, who might be utilized in such ways as this. Many of them could arrange to remain on the coast a few days in order to render such service. The essential condition, however, would be the desire of employers of Japanese for such aid. A central office in San Francisco should be established to which requests could be sent, with provision for the travel and entertainment of the missionaries. The office should, of course, get into touch with the missionaries before they complete their arrangements for dates of arrival at and departure from San Francisco, and thus allow time for trips into the country.

But the question will still be asked: If assimilated, will the Japanese be a desirable addition to our people, improving our stock, our social life, and our civilization? To this question several answers must be given.

Intermarriage of Japanese and whites, as we have already seen, has taken place so seldom as yet that no clear scientific answer can be made in regard to its results. There has not even been a scientific collection of such facts as are available.

The marriage of whites with agricultural Japanese would probably increase the vigor but not add to the beauty of American stock, while intermarriage with the middle and higher classes of Japanese would probably add a new type of beauty.

Japanese, again, are famous for their supple fingers and dexterous hands, which give them marked fitness for certain industries as well as for art. Would not acquisition by Occidentals of these traits be a gain?

Among offspring of mixed marriages, some individuals would doubtless possess the characteristic Japanese æsthetic and also mystic temperaments. These might add materially to the æsthetic and religious development of American civilization.

But wholly aside from intermarriage, would the entrance of considerable numbers of Japanese into our social life be an advantage? Without doubt, if it can proceed normally and morally. If in the process of assimilation the Japanese could hold fast to their courteous and gentle manners, to their culture even without wealth, and could impart these social traits to us, we should be great gainers thereby. But for this Japanese women should come to America; permanence and happiness of residence should be assured them; homes should be established and families should be raised, and at the same time, in proportion as they and their children acquire the English language they should be admitted into the social

life of our people. Only so could they develop and we learn from them the good social heritage which they have to impart.

All progress depends on the arrival and utilization of useful variants; this is equally true in biological and in social evolution. The cross-breeding of races and also the cross-mixing of civilizations serve powerfully to produce all kinds of variants, not only in the physiological character of individuals but in customs and costumes; in music, drama, and art; in folk-lore, religion, and philosophy; in all that gives richness and meaning to life.

One of the outstanding distinctions between the biological and social realms is the fact that acquired biological characters are practically not inheritable, while acquired social characters are. This means that the experience of the individual and all his bodily development secured through conscious effort die with him. Not so in the realm of social life. Every useful social attainment of every individual may be taken up by his social group and in time become the possession of the entire human race. And this may be so even though the individual himself may die without a single child to perpetuate his biological heredity. This is a point of the highest significance. Biological heredity passes only from progenitor to offspring. Social heredity may pass from any individual of any race to any individual of any other race; and it does so speedily and easily

under favorable mental and moral conditions. How speedily have powder and gun transformed the fighting of all nations! Biological heredity works automatically, as yet we know not how, and is practically beyond human control except through the extermination of all those individuals who possess an undesired trait. Social heredity works through conscious and unconscious imitation, and is rapidly becoming subject to human control entirely through conscious promotion of the good and inhibition of the bad.

Now, when we consider that all movements of social evolution, scientific, artistic, moral, and religious, always take their start in individual initiative, and then have spread not only through the tribe and nation but often to the ends of the earth in accordance with the laws of social heredity, the inestimable importance of variant individuals, endowed by exceptional ancestry with exceptional temperaments, becomes manifest. If the crossing of American and Japanese races and civilizations is likely, as it unquestionably is, to produce such variants, the advantages will be many and great.

America is rightly called the "melting pot of the nations." Here the races and the civilizations of Europe are being crossed, and we may expect the advent of astonishing variants of all kinds. We must learn to eliminate the unfit and to preserve and utilize the fit. But would we not be great

gainers by including Asiatic ore in this great melting-pot?

But this question as to what advantages we should gain by taking Japanese completely into our national life, as we do individuals from any European nation, is not a question to be settled exclusively by balancing the pros and cons of selfish advantage. We need to ask ourselves how justice and good-will require us to treat the Japanese. Whether we get any good from them or not is not the primary question. Japanese are members of the human race, are here in America, and are here to stay; and it is our duty now to deal with them justly and kindly. Unless we do what justice and good-will demand, we ourselves sink in the moral scale. Here is a moral opportunity set before us, a temptation, if you will. Rightly used, we rise; if we fail to do the right we fall in moral character. The new way in which the races are being brought face to face to-day constitutes this a great day for the testing of the nations and also a day of great moral opportunity.

The injury that might come to the present and future generations from such mingling of the races as already exists and is bound to continue is, indeed, to be carefully considered. We must find the right way of dealing justly and kindly with every race, and at the same time we must avoid the dangers threatened by the inevitable commingling. No doubt, the problem is complicated and difficult, but

that does not excuse injustice and unkindness. Details of a possible policy will be presented in a later chapter. Here I merely insist on certain broad principles. Righteousness, justice, and good-will in racial and international relations are the only possible grounds on which the human race can go forward.

Can Americans assimilate the Japanese? That is the question. I am no prophet, but I believe we can. Each American citizen by his conduct, speech, and spirit contributes his part, greater or less, to the answer. In proportion as we do our part, treating all aliens courteously, justly, and kindly, giving them fair play in all the relations of life, welcoming them to our best treasures just so far as they show themselves ready, shall we succeed. Under such conditions, steadily maintained year in and year out, there is not a particle of doubt as to the result.

Of course, the smaller the number of Japanese and the more complete their distribution the more rapid would be their assimilation. As they become assimilated they, in turn, would aid in the assimilation of their fellow countrymen, and the numbers of those who could wisely come to these shores would gradually increase. The news of this just and kindly treatment reported to Japan would allay the natural race prejudice beyond the sea. The return to Japan for visits of those already more or less assimilated would lead to still further changes in race feeling. Such a policy of complete justice and good-will on

the part of every American who comes in contact with an Asiatic, even though the Asiatic as an individual might not at first deserve it, continued for half a century would completely assimilate all Asiatics on our coast and would conciliate the entire Japanese and Chinese peoples. Such treatment would make our Asiatic citizens as loyal Americans as any in our land.

But we must not be in too much of a hurry. We must allow time for the process. We are too apt to demand the result without the process, the full-grown tree without the years for its growth. Racial assimilation takes time, a generation or two. It is a circular or rather a spiral process. Each kind deed brings those involved gradually closer and closer together. As race prejudice tends to produce conditions in which it thrives more and more luxuriously, so race justice and good-will have the same self-nourishing tendency. Among our good people there is unquestionably a large amount of genuine good-will toward alien peoples, including Asiatics. It should become outspoken and active; it should determine in a positive way our local and national policy concerning Asiatics.

CHAPTER X

CALIFORNIA'S ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION

THE writer heartily agrees with the fundamental postulate of California's general oriental policy. An immigration from Asia swamping the white man, overturning the democratic institutions of the Pacific coast, and bringing wide economic disaster to Caucasian laborers and farmers is not for a moment to be tolerated. The writer advocates nothing of the kind. Nor does Japan ask for rights of unlimited immigration. Her statesmen see very well that large influx of Japanese and Chinese laborers into the United States would soon produce intolerable conditions and inevitably lead to serious race conflict. All are agreed in regard to this point. I have talked with many Japanese gentlemen on this matter and not one have I found who dissents.

The present chapter, therefore, is not concerned with this fundamental postulate but rather with what may be regarded as the secondary aspects of the policy—the spirit and the method with which many Californians have urged it. These latter seem to the writer psychologically and strategically mistaken.

For sixty years the treaties between Japan and the United States have emphasized the friendship of the two peoples. Not the Japanese Government alone but the people also have taken these assurances seriously and have acted, for decades, in harmony with them. Hundreds of Japanese attending our colleges and universities have received ideal treatment from our people and on going back to their land have reported their experiences to their astonished kindred and acquaintances and to public audiences. These reports have contributed to that amazing change of the Japanese national attitude to the white man which has been characteristic of Japan during the past forty years.

Japan on her side has effected changes in her national life, laws, and political organization, unheard of till modern times, granting protection and large opportunity to foreigners in her midst.

Responding to the solicitation of planters in the nineties, many thousand Japanese laborers went to the Hawaiian Islands for work on the sugar plantations, and thus began Japan's first experience of emigration. To facilitate this enterprise there sprang up and flourished in Japan a number of emigration societies. Not until the annexation of Hawaii, in 1899, however, did any considerable emigration arise of Japanese laborers to California. At first they were generally welcomed, but as soon as they came in numbers large enough to form local groups

and to assert race distinction then difficulties began to arise. The first conspicuous instance of anti-Japanese feeling was the so-called school question when the School Board of San Francisco adopted the principle of race segregation. This the Japanese resented as contrary to the treaty, invidious, and humiliating. Shortly thereafter came the "gentlemen's agreement," which from 1908 put a complete stop to Japanese labor immigration, the Japanese Government preferring the prevention of immigration undesired by us to the enactment of legislation humiliating to her. In carrying out this arrangement the emigration companies were abolished, causing much hardship.

Japan has earnestly desired to maintain relations with America on the basis of the historic friendship. The entire history of America's helpfulness to Japan, from the days of Commodore Perry and Minister Harris to the time of the war with Russia and the Portsmouth Treaty of Peace, justified Japan's admiration. Rather than sacrifice America's friendship, she was willing to do almost anything. She voluntarily undertook to keep back from our shores all undesired immigration. And when the treaty of unlimited arbitration was negotiated between the United States and England, in 1911, which seemed to conflict with England's obligations to Japan on account of the Treaty of 1905, Japan, expressing her friendship for and confidence in both countries, vol-

untarily made the change in the clause of the Alliance Treaty which would, under certain conditions, have required England to fight with her against the United States.

In spite of this mutually loyal friendship and generous treatment, California has developed an anti-Japanese agitation humiliating to Japan and disgraceful to America. Ignoring the facts that Japan earnestly desires to be on terms of cordial friendship with America and is efficiently administering the "gentlemen's agreement," California assumes that there is imminent danger of swamping immigration and of vast purchases of her best agricultural lands by these "undesirable" aliens. Her whole anti-Japanese argument and activity rest on this assumption as its major premise.

While manual workers, small traders, and farmers may be excused for laboring under this delusion, it is certainly surprising that State legislators, university professors, ministers of the gospel, and newspaper editors should be so completely obsessed by the same illusion. These are the men whose privilege it is to know the facts and to guide the rank and file of the citizens. The rank and file should be assured by the leaders that there is no danger whatever of swamping immigration; that Japan in her friendship for and gratitude to the United States is more than ready to co-operate in any measures that may be needed to free America from economic

or other difficulties that might arise from Japanese immigration, and that the assertions by some of an imminent Japanese naval attack and military invasion of California are preposterous and absurd. Instead, however, of guiding public opinion, of insisting on justice and fair dealing, the reverse seems to have been the spirit and method of the leaders of public opinion. During the last two sessions of the California legislature fifty-one anti-Japanese bills were proposed. As a sample of their character, consider the following:

A bill to raise the license fee for fishermen from the standard rate for all races of \$10 per annum to \$100 for Asiatics.

A bill forbidding Japanese the use or ownership of power engines.

A bill forbidding Japanese to employ white girls.

Clauses in various land bills requiring Japanese who own land to sell within one year; practically providing thus for confiscation of private property.

The clause in the bill which did pass making Japanese inheritance of land illegal.

That this policy of differential economic legislation has not been suddenly arrived at, the following sentence from Mr. Chester Rowell's article in the *California Outlook* for April 26, 1913, will prove: "Anti-Japanese legislation of one sort or another has been proposed in every California legislature for

the past ten years, and for at least eight years there has been acute biennial agitation. This year probably more excitement has been stirred up in the whole world than ever before, though the actual bills proposed have been less radical than in previous sessions." Had it not been for the vigorous opposition of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft several bills highly obnoxious from the international standpoint would doubtless have been enacted. Even President Wilson, with his strong convictions as to State's rights, felt impelled to do all he could to prevent the legislation of last April.

The real purpose of this anti-Japanese agitation and legislation was succinctly expressed by Attorney-General Webb, before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, August 9, 1913:

"The fundamental basis of all legislation upon this subject, State and Federal, has been, and is, race undesirability. It is unimportant and foreign to the question under discussion whether a particular race is inferior or superior. The simple and single question is, is the race desirable. . . . *It [the law] seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they may enjoy here; for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land. And it seeks to limit the numbers who will come by limiting the opportunities for their activity here when they arrive.*"

In other words, this is indirect legislation for the control of immigration and looks also toward the

exclusion of those Japanese already owning real estate in California.

And Governor Johnson, in his notable address on the occasion of the organization of the Progressive party of California (December 6, 1913), summarizing the splendid work of the party thus far in California, referred approvingly to the anti-Asiatic land law as having "laid for all time the ghost that had frightened so many in the past."

In connection with the anti-Japanese agitation many things have been said highly insulting to the Japanese and intended to be so. But the Japanese should not take these utterances too much to heart, for they do not represent, I feel confident, the thought of the real majority, even of Californians.

Months of study of this question in California have convinced the writer that the popular approval of the anti-Japanese agitation and legislation does not concern the details of the proposed bills nor the insulting language used by a few, but rests entirely on the conviction that there should be no swamping immigration from Japan. Their universal and unqualified approval of this position, which is fundamental, has led the good people to keep silence in regard to details which they consider are but incidental.

The objectionable features, however, of this anti-Japanese legislation are many and serious.

It is needless; for under the effective operation of the "gentlemen's agreement" Japanese immigration

has ceased, and the number of Japanese in America is diminishing. There is, therefore, no danger whatever of a swamping Japanese invasion nor of any considerable purchase by Japanese of agricultural or other land. The number of acres bought by Japanese during the two years preceding the passage of the law was less than two thousand.

It is misleading; for it implies an issue which does not in fact exist.

The policy is *humiliating to Japan*; for it misrepresents her attitude and conduct, treats her as though she could not be trusted, and ignores her friendship, which, however, has been consistently maintained for sixty years.

It disgraces the United States by presenting us in a wrong attitude to a friendly nation and also by making it appear that we cannot distinguish between solid facts and palpable illusions. We seem to be ruled by hallucinations.

This agitation is *positively injurious*; for it antagonizes Japanese landowners and thus interferes with the process of their assimilation. It thus tends to keep them as a permanently alien element in the midst of our people, helping to create the very difficulty it fears.

It is based on ignorance of the Japanese. It exaggerates their defects and overlooks their virtues.

The whole agitation is *unscientific*. It does not seek accurate and verified facts; being highly sus-

picious, it accepts as true every maligning story. Moreover, it defends and justifies itself by discredited theories of race psychology and sociology. It confuses biological and sociological assimilation, regarding the two as inseparable.

It is *unjust and unkind*. The spirit which prompted the fifty-one bills in the last two sessions of the legislature is not one that seeks to deal justly or kindly with the stranger in our land. We criticise the Japanese for lack of the spirit of fair play and for failure to keep an open door for us in Manchuria. Are Americans in California carrying out the spirit of fair play and an open door?

It ignores the new Orient and the entire modern situation considered in later chapters of this book. The world has irrevocably entered on a new era of human development. All the nations of the Orient are awakening to a new life and a new self-consciousness; they are increasingly sensitive to their plight, their needs, and their rights. They are also developing military power. All this is ignored. It is willing to create international difficulty and promote increasing alienation of Asiatic good-will. It pays no attention to the Yellow Peril which it is evoking. As Mr. Rowell well says, "ninty-nine per cent of the whole Japanese question is National and International." It ignores the large relations and seeks to settle the problem exclusively from the standpoint of local interests.

It is *short-sighted*. Even from the standpoint of selfish interests, it is calculated to bring disaster. Our international commerce depends in no small degree on the good-will of the purchasing nations. The Chinese boycott of 1905-6 shows what possibilities lie in that direction. Germany and England are competing in the Orient for commercial supremacy. Should wide-spread and strong anti-American feeling in Japan and China be put into the commercial scales, who can foretell the results to our commerce?

Moreover, this anti-Japanese agitation little notes how important for the promotion of a higher standard of living and of wages in the Orient is the movement back and forth of considerable populations belonging to the industrial and agricultural classes. In proportion as the standard of living advances in Asia will the coming economic and industrial competition of those lands with ours be lessened in severity.

Nor does this agitation recognize the benefits, direct and indirect, that would come to our land through the presence here of Asiatics. Those who despise and dislike them cannot apparently see these benefits. Nevertheless, there are such, not only in the manual work done by them, but also in the realm of culture, of religious feeling, and of art. Of these latter benefits little, it is true, has yet been received; the time has been too short, and our attitude to them has been too unfavorable. We have lacked the teach-

able spirit. Moreover, those who have come to us from Asia have encountered severe economic struggles. Should Asiatics assimilated to our civilization acquire financial prosperity comparable with that of our own middle classes, it is altogether probable that they would make valuable contributions to our life. In all these respects California's anti-Japanese agitation is short-sighted.

It is contrary to the spirit of all American treaties with Japan. Japan opened her doors at our earnest request. We led her out among the nations, much against her will. We pledged mutual friendship. Japan has carried out her side of the compact more faithfully than we have carried out ours. She allows Americans to become citizens of Japan. We refuse to naturalize Japanese, whatever their character or qualifications. Japan allows American residents in Japan, though alien, whether as individuals or as regular corporations, to own land. California and several other States refuse this privilege to Japanese in this country.

The agitation is *hysterical*. Those who advocate it invariably talk of the threatened swamping Asiatic invasion, the Japanization of our entire Pacific coast, the ease and even the likelihood of a Japanese military invasion, and the horrors of intermarriage. These are all the creations of ignorance and fear. That there is no danger whatever of war with Japan is conclusively shown by the facts presented in a later



This photograph illustrates the misleading and sometimes malicious character of some of the statements made by anti-Japanese writers. Although it was taken in Hawaii probably ten or fifteen years ago (notice the Hawaiian policeman), yet Mr. C. K. McClatchy of Sacramento, in his article for the "American Citizen" of June, 1913, entitled "California's Attitude Towards the Japanese," actually presents this photograph with the caption: "Newly landed Japanese farm hands"! He implies that Japanese laborers are still landing in California, although for five years, because of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between America and Japan, no new Japanese laborers have been coming to the United States.



chapter. The very talk of it is absurd. There is, in truth, nothing whatever in the situation in California to call for anti-Japanese legislation.

It is well to ponder the following statements from the eminently sane article by Mr. Rowell: "It may be asserted unconditionally that the menace of Japanese land ownership in California is not a present fact, but is a fear of the future. . . . The intense interest aroused in the whole proposal is based upon this imaginative picture of what some day might happen, rather than upon any present facts of what has happened. . . . Practically all the berries, most of the vegetables, more than half of the grapes, and one-third of the citrous and deciduous fruits of California are produced by Japanese labor. If there is any invasion, this is where it is, but there seems to be no agitation against this real displacement of our own race from an important industry. . . . In the case of land holding the situation is exactly the reverse. Here, instead of dominating anything, the Japanese are practically a negligible quantity. . . . These figures . . . are relatively insignificant in a state which has single holdings of millions of acres. All the Japanese farms in California owned or leased, could be located on the Miller and Lux ranches and be lost in the shuffle."

To one looking calmly at the facts, the present anti-Japanese agitation of Californian politicians appears like a case of hysteria.

And finally, the anti-Japanese policy is *unchristian*. There is no more important teaching of the Old and New Testaments than that of dealing justly and kindly with the stranger in the land. The peculiar new insight of the Apostolic church was the fact that Gentiles are co-heirs with the Jews in the Kingdom of God, who is the Father of all men, and that all men of all races are brothers.

A policy open to so many and such serious criticisms surely cannot be the only one. Californians seem to assume that there are only two alternatives—one, this policy of complete exclusion, hampering legislation, and social ostracism; the other, that of complete surrender to an overwhelming Japanese invasion, resulting in the economic ruin of white laborers and the establishment on the Pacific coast of an Asiatic civilization.

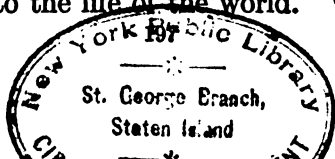
There is, however, a third alternative, a policy calculated to conserve all real interests, on the side both of America and of Japan, dignified, courteous, honorable, and mutually advantageous. The details of this third alternative are presented in the closing chapter.

CHAPTER XI

UNRECOGNIZED FACTORS

THE new world-situation has, indeed, been a century in gestation, but now it is fully born and all the nations must reckon with it, America no less than the rest; for international policies which sufficed during the nineteenth century are no longer adequate.

Japan was the first nation to be rudely shaken out of her self-contented isolation, to find that the world had forged ahead while she was hibernating. But with titanic efforts and internal adjustments, involving loss and pain to millions, she has measurably discovered the modern world and adapted herself to it. Nor is she content with what she has already achieved. She is still forging ahead. She is still eager for development and ready to make great sacrifices, if thereby she may take her place as an equal among the nations. She believes, with confidence, that her peculiar location, where the two great streams of Eastern and Western civilization are at present in closest contact, gives her an advantage over every other people in harmonizing the good of each. She believes she is to make a distinct contribution to the life of the world.



There is, thus, to-day a new Japan, just coming into being. The Japan of ten or twenty years ago was a youth in his teens. It was guided by a small group of powerful men, educated and disciplined in the sixties and seventies of the last century. They destroyed the feudalism of which they themselves were products. That group of "Elder Statesmen," of whom Prince Ito was the most illustrious, has passed. The nation's destinies are now in younger hands, men who have received their training since feudal Japan disappeared.

During the life of the late Emperor, Meiji Tenno, Japan, though ostensibly constitutional in form and cosmopolitan in ambition, was nevertheless still largely feudal in spirit, bureaucratic in political life, and narrowly national in outlook and feelings. The death of the late Emperor may be reckoned as the beginning of a new era. New men are coming to the fore, men of world outlook and sympathy. Constitutional government is rapidly gaining headway. Provincial nationalism, though still strong, is giving way to cosmopolitanism. Men prominent in commerce, industry, and finance are taking increasingly influential position in the national life, even moulding governmental policies. They are opposed to bureaucracy and also to militarism. More and more Japan is swinging out into the full current of universal civilization.

This means that we have a new Japan to deal

with. She is more self-conscious than was Japan of the Meiji era (1868-1912). She is more under the control of popular opinion and less dominated by her official political leaders. Her educated people are thinking and feeling on international problems as never before. Japan has taken lessons from Western lands. She has observed how they push national rights, dignity, and economic interests in alien lands and sees no reason why she should not put into practice the lessons she has learned.

The government of Japan is, accordingly, becoming a more difficult undertaking. An autocratic cabinet is increasingly liable to overthrow by popular wrath, and this is especially liable if the people believe the cabinet has played false to national interests or honor in foreign lands.

The historic friendship of Japan and America was maintained without a break and with mutual advantage till after the close of the Russo-Japan War. Since then several untoward events have occurred to check the friendship: President Roosevelt announced that "America must dominate the Pacific"; Secretary Knox proposed to neutralize the Manchurian railways by four European powers without consulting the wishes of Japan and Russia; Americans supported a railway scheme in Manchuria which would greatly reduce the value of the Russo-Japanese line; newspapers agitated against the alleged Japanese rebate in Manchuria; American financiers

played a prominent part in the proposed "four-powers loan" to China, which excluded Russia and Japan; America independently recognized the Chinese republic, in spite of an agreement among leading powers to act together in this matter; California, after repeated mutterings, passed an antialien land law which seriously hampers the prospects of Japanese residing in America and the government at Washington upholds the law.¹ And finally many newspapers and politicians have for years indulged in the most extraordinary misrepresentations of Japan and in reckless assertions in regard to her doings and purposes calculated to evoke wide-spread suspicion of Japan and readiness to believe any evil report. All these things have been done in spite of Japan's desire for friendship with America. Is it strange that Japan is hurt and estranged?

But if there is a new Japan, so assuredly there is a new Orient. There are China and India, Persia and Turkey, each with its twentieth-century developments.

During the past decade these countries have at last shaken off their lethargic slumber of centuries. So rapidly are the inner movements of thought and feeling and resolve proceeding in these lands that no one can be sure to-day what will happen to-morrow. Even their own reputed leaders cannot foretell what

¹ See "American and Japanese Diplomacy in China," by M. Honda in *Journal of Race Development*, October, 1913.

a week or a month may bring to pass. All South China abolished the queue in a single week. Each of these Asiatic countries knows that the old order is passing and the new coming, and they are eagerly waiting. They are even exerting themselves strenuously for the establishment of the new, though it cost treasure and life and vast internal adjustment.

No longer, then, are we dealing with sleeping giants, on whose continued sleep we may confidently count. They have been aroused by occidental stimulants in the shape of commerce, military and naval prodings, and Christian missions. Hundreds of millions of severely disciplined peoples, constituting a half of the earth's population, are coming to national and racial self-consciousness. They are beginning to catch the vision of new life; to see the world and their own inferior places therein. They propose to remain in their present plight no longer, but seizing the tools and instruments of progress put into their hands by Occidentals, they intend to work out their own destinies. They refuse to remain longer as pliant subject races, open to the exploitations of aggressive whites. They intend to stand on their own feet, possess their own lands, develop their own natural resources. They no longer despise the white man's civilization, nor shrink from facing him on his own terms. They intend to master his science, acquire his machinery, utilize his experience, and to

stand as his equal in every branch of human endeavor and attainment.

The Asiatic, moreover, is possessed by race pride and rising ambition. He boasts his antiquity, historical continuity, and intrinsic ability in brain, brawn, and grit. The present apparent inferiority is, he holds, only a passing episode due to special circumstances. Nor shall it long continue. Not only do Europe and America know but all Asia knows that the time for white exploitation of Japan has ceased. China and India propose that it shall cease in their lands at the earliest possible moment.

Special emphasis should be laid on the industrial and commercial development which this means. Japanese adoption of Western civilization has introduced a higher standard of living for her 50,000,000. This means a higher wage and a higher purchasing power. Though Japanese taxes are crushing, the average man is living two hundred to three hundred per cent better than in pre-Meiji times; her overseas trade is growing amazingly.

The awakening of China and her wide adoption of Western civilization promise like developments—a higher standard of living for the masses, a higher wage, increasing purchasing power, and enlarging overseas commerce.

The awakening of Asia then means vast development in international trade and corresponding profits to the producing and purchasing nations.

We have, then, a new Orient to deal with, one that is increasingly self-conscious and sensitive, strong, and determined. We confront, to-day, a China absolutely different from the China that faced us in the days of Dennis Kearney. The new Orient, in fact though not in form, is under the leadership of Japan; for she has taught all Asia that the secret of progress and of independence is international life, learning what the Occident has to teach as to nature's secrets and forces and utilizing them for human welfare.

This new Orient offers, accordingly, tremendous possibilities for good or evil. Which it shall be depends in no small way on America and her oriental policy.

There is also a new America. Whether we like it or not, the United States is an international power; we can no longer live to ourselves. Our lives and our interests are now interlinked with every nation and race on the face of the globe to a degree we little appreciate. Our national responsibilities are enormous. Our experiments of democratic government, popular education, private initiative, equality of the sexes, and our amazing immigration have shaken numberless century-old theories throughout the world and are arousing the ambitions of the common people of every land.

It now lies within the power of the United States to further these world-wide upward movements of

the masses by friendly helpfulness and good-will or to thwart them by selfish greed. America's opportunity for moulding the life of the millions in Japan and China and India is incalculable, if we treat them justly and courteously. We have already won their admiration and friendship, and can still hold them, even in Japan, if we will.

A few years ago inquiry was made in Japan as to the effect on Japanese students of their life in the various foreign lands. The opinion of educators was unanimous that those who studied in Europe returned to Japan confirmed in their patriotism and highly critical of other lands, while those who had studied in America were highly critical of Japan and laudatory of America. So pronounced was this difference that narrow-minded Japanese dissuade students from going to America, lest they lose their Japanese patriotism!

A son of one of my best Japanese friends, after completing his university education in Tokyo spent only two years in an American university. On returning to Japan to take an important post, his disgust and criticism of Japanese policies, police, business, and social life were so pronounced as to become a cause of disappointment to his friends and kindred. They said that America had spoiled him for Japan.

Japanese merchants and farmers, too, who have spent a number of years in America or Hawaii, find their ideals of life so transformed that a return to

their own land is accompanied with no little pain; their influence is strong for the introduction of American ideals and practices.

These are a few concrete illustrations, but they show which way the wind blows. Chinese students no doubt return from America with like feelings and like ideals, and in proportion as they are patriotic do they seek to guide their own land to the adoption of American ideals and institutions.

America is, thus, a new America, not merely because of her advances during the past two decades in every line, political, economic, industrial, educational, and social; nor yet because of her unintended transoceanic possessions (Hawaii and the Philippines), involving new international relations; but also, and supremely, because of the new place she is occupying in the mind of the world, particularly in that of the Orient. These countries look to us for models and for inspiration, enhancing thus both our opportunities and our responsibilities. Only in the light of these can we estimate aright the principles that should guide us in the formulation of our oriental policy.

It is difficult to realize the value to other lands of their relations to this through the coming and returning of emigrants. This is due not merely to the direct economic advantage, first by the relief of pressure on the populations in those lands and then of the cash sent home by the emigrants. More im-

portant than these are the subtle influences of ideas and ideals demanding transformation in the entire life of those lands.

The interchange of travellers and students, of soldiers, diplomats, merchants, and missionaries between this and other lands of course contribute greatly to these vast national movements in the life of the spirit; but the point needing emphasis here is that emigrants who come from the lowly classes in each nation also have their important contribution to make. And this is of more importance than at first appears. The new ideas and ideals imported by travellers, merchants, students, and the like influence only a small, though of course important, minority of the nation; while those which emigrants carry back with them mould the working masses, who constitute the vast majority. These masses are not easily moved by abstractions and theories, such as may be propounded in books and taught in schools. They are moved by what they see and experience. The laborers of every land are highly conservative. They distrust new-fangled industrial ideas of the upper classes, for these classes are not "practical workers." It is, therefore, of the greatest value for representatives of the working classes in backward lands to reside for a season in more progressive countries that they may see with their own eyes and learn by personal experience the new, effective methods of industry and agriculture. On their return, not

only can they tell what they have seen and learned, but, of still more importance, they can demonstrate the new methods by putting them into actual practice.

But the advantage of the migration of workers back and forth does not belong exclusively to the land from which the emigrant comes. There are material advantages secured by the land to which he goes. I refer now not to the value of the labor performed but, first, to the promotion of commerce between the two countries and, second, to the rising standard of wages and of living demanded by laborers in the home land. Both of these, though slow in coming and for that reason easily overlooked, are of great importance.

When the working people of any land begin to demand the goods of another land, commerce thrives. But of more final significance is the higher wage and better scale of living of the working man in the native land. It means more purchasing power among the masses and also more manhood. Since Japanese immigration to the United States became appreciable, the commerce between these lands has risen from \$10,000,000 in 1886 to \$150,000,000 in 1912. Japan purchased from us in 1910, \$21,000,000 worth of goods and in 1912, \$53,000,000 worth. But more significant than the commerce is the rising scale of living and of wages in Japan, for this means less difference between the working masses of the two

countries and, in consequence, other things being equal, in the long run less ruinous industrial competition.

America sets the pace and the standards to-day for the life of all working people throughout the world. It is important that working men from every people, especially those from the industrial classes, should come here and learn, not merely our methods, but especially our scale of life, the relative leisure of our working classes, our general education, our solidarity, our spirit of fellowship and co-operation, and then, having learned, that they take the same to their workers. In proportion as this occurs will the workers of the entire world rise in economic and social welfare and the anticipated cutthroat competition between the East and the West be averted.

Man's finest qualities have been evoked by the demands on his sympathy and unselfish endeavor on behalf of helpless infancy and motherhood. Those races possess the most advanced manhood and womanhood where nobility and courage are combined with patience, forbearance, and helpfulness, and in which the rights of the helpless are protected by the strong.

The most inspiring and noblest heroes of every nation have been, and still are, those who have given their lives in unselfish devotion to the outcast and helpless, to the orphan and leper, to the poor, the ignorant, the downcast, the sick, the criminal. The

deepening spiritual life of the modern world, its wide outlook and sympathy, its consciousness of the problems confronting modern society and its efforts to meet the same—whence have they come but from its self-forgetting, self-sacrificing work? The retro-active effect on Christendom of its foreign philanthropic and missionary activities, securing accurate knowledge of every non-Christian tribe and people, arousing sympathy for them, leading men slowly to a realization that even the non-Christian religions of the earth have their elements of truth and that Christianity does not go to any land to destroy the good and true, but rather to fulfil and vitalize their highest ideals—this high development of character, knowledge, sympathy, and vision is a direct product of the application of the spirit and teaching of Jesus that the strong should help those that are weak and that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

While this has been true in the relations of individuals and of social classes, is it not yet to be true in the relations of nations? May not whole nations be raised to nobler levels of moral life through self-sacrificing endeavors on behalf of races less advanced? If, in place of prodigious preparations for war, there should arise unselfish giving between the nations, we would advance to degrees of mutual appreciation and progressive civilization of which our most enthusiastic prophets have given but faint forecast.

If, in place of preparing to fight Japan, America should send her gifts of scores of millions to help her develop her resources in Hokkaido, or build universities, or even to pay off part of her enormous and crippling debt, what results would follow in kindly international relations? If, instead of lending China large sums on heavy interest, the five powers had given her the sum outright for the development of her railways and schools and hospitals, who could picture the beneficial result in race good-will? What unparalleled opportunities the nations might have in China if all were as eager to help her as they have been in seeking each its own aggrandizement!

Has not the time come in the history of the world when these, the profoundest principles of human life making for character and progress, should be adopted not only by individuals and small groups but by an entire people? Is not this one of the unrecognized factors of modern life?

Few realize that a new era in human evolution has begun. For unknown millenniums rivers, mountains, seas, and oceans have compelled rigid isolation of small groups of men, each group living to itself. Continuous intermarriage within each group has produced races, tribes, and nations physiologically different, which have developed their distinctive languages, literatures, organizations, industries, arts, ethics, metaphysics, and religion. Biological segregation has produced the races, social segregation the

civilizations. Quite unconsciously, yet none the less really, each group has been carrying on prolonged experiments, developing and progressively testing each its own conceptions of man and society, of nature and the supernatural, and of the meaning, purpose and value of life. While some peoples have survived unknown multitudes have missed the trail and have either miserably perished or now maintain only a bare existence. The successful survivors carry in their traditions and civilizations the fruitage of age-long efforts. Divergent evolution with relatively little interchange of blood or thought has been the characteristic feature of past millenniums of human history.

During the past three thousand years, however, some limited interchange of thought and experience has taken place between the several peoples of Asia, while corresponding and much fuller interchange has been effected between the nations of Europe. Two great streams of civilization have thus arisen, the Oriental and the Occidental, and to-day they carry on their bosoms the more advanced races of mankind. In the main, these streams have been flowing in divergent directions.

Two millenniums ago, for several scores of years, these streams were in partial contact. The interchange of thought and custom proved highly stimulating to both sides, but particularly to Europe, movements of the greatest significance arising whose

force is not yet spent. But political catastrophes and the partial collapse of civilization forced these streams apart, and for the last thousand years the general divergent evolution of East and West has gone on apace.

Geographical barriers, however, have now broken down. Man's mastery of the forces of nature is destroying the limitations imposed by space. Steam travel and electric communication have made the whole world a manageable unit. Vast oceans and lofty ranges no longer isolate the various branches of mankind. The barriers to-day are the languages, with race and class prejudice. But strange languages are being mastered; mutual acquaintance is banishing prejudice. Men are beginning to learn of one another the good each branch has acquired through its protracted divergent evolution. This means, however, that diverse races and civilizations are face to face; the two great streams are again in contact and bid fair to blend. We have entered on a new era of human history, the era of convergent evolution. The best of each is to become the possession of all, producing a universal civilization of incomparable richness.

All past civilizations have been provincial, narrow-minded, puffed up with race pride, scornful, able to see but little good outside themselves. Their local character and provincial spirit, however, were inevitable consequences of isolation. They were, nev-

ertheless, necessary steps in human history, as inevitable as the crudity of a boy in his teens.

But a new civilization is coming with the "New Humanity" and the "New International Mind." It is to be truly cosmopolitan and correspondingly rich, for it will include and preserve all that is good and true and beautiful in each of the local civilizations. Asiatics are now awaking to this mighty modern movement. Not China alone, but India, Persia, and Turkey—all Asia, indeed—has learned from Japan the magic word of progress and power through international life. The Renaissance of Europe was not more significant for Europe than are the mighty changes now beginning in the East, near and far. A new leaven has entered into old civilizations, and who can foretell the issue? The reconstruction, not of Asia alone, but of the whole world, lies pregnant in this new era.

But this new contact of East and West, while pregnant with great opportunity, is also fraught with great peril. Extraordinary foresight and statesmanship are called for. The condition under which alone the East and the West can be mutually helpful is the maintenance of international peace based upon justice and good-will. Race pride must give place to humility of spirit and willingness to learn. Instead of determining international relations by bayonets and battle-ships, justice, righteousness and the spirit of mutual concession must prevail. No

race may proudly claim supremacy and special privilege, nor seek to enforce that claim by the sword. All must learn that the savage age of the beast has passed, that the Kingdom of Man has come, and that true supremacy is intellectual and moral and spiritual.

Man's inner nature is essentially universal, infinite; he cannot be permanently satisfied with anything less than the best. He demands a science that builds on universal human experience, and ethics that includes all human relations and embodies universal ideals, and a religion that interprets all things and all experience and gives significance and worth to all.

This means, however, that only a completely humanized civilization can satisfy. It must include all peoples, all experience, all high endeavor. And for this the progressive gift of each to all and all to each is essential. Exactly this is to be the great outstanding feature of our modern international life. No doubt, there are cross-currents and counter-currents innumerable, but the main, deep, underlying current of all is to be the convergent evolution of the entire human race.

Now the anti-Asiatic movement in California and British America, like the late antiforeign Boxer movement in China and the Joi (barbarian-expelling) movement in Japan two score and ten years ago, are all counter-currents. They ignore the essential

trend of the times. The sooner they are overcome the better for all, but especially for the active participants.

As Paul put it so long ago, we are members one of ~~another~~. Each race needs the rest for its own complete development and richest life. The East needs the West, but so does the West need the East. This profound principle of human welfare demands universal recognition. In its light alone can we form an oriental policy suited to the extraordinary age in which we live.

CHAPTER XII

THE PERILS—YELLOW AND WHITE

SOME twenty years ago Emperor William of Germany announced to the world the existence of a danger to Christendom which till then had not been suspected—the Yellow Peril.

That seed was sown in fertile soil. It has grown into a mighty tree whose branches reach out into every land where white men rule. The thoughts and policies of the white nations are being increasingly controlled by the fear of the yellow man.

Some four hundred years ago Columbus discovered America. Then came the age of world-discovery, and with it the age of white expansion and world-wide conquest. All the colored races felt his heavy hand and fell back before his conquering might.

While for twenty years the white man has begun to anticipate a possible Yellow Peril, for four hundred years the colored races have faced an actual White Peril.

The Yellow Peril takes two forms, military and economic. The former is pictured in lurid colors and is conceived of as not far distant, though none

are so bold as Captain Hobson was in predicting the date of war between Japan and the United States (a date now overdue by a couple of years).

The Honorable Albert Johnson, of Washington, in his speech in the House of Representatives (August 30, 1913), conceives of the military Yellow Peril in the following terms:

“The over-shadowing question of to-day is: What are we going to do when the 900,000,000 of Asia, united and armed in the same proportion as Japan, demand unrestricted admission for those of their laborers who wish to profit by the opportunities of the land of high wages?

“The Manchus dared not develop the great army planned by Sir Robert Hart, knowing that an army consisting mainly of Chinese would inevitably turn against the Manchu government. No such motive restrains the present government, which is completely in the hands of the Chinese themselves. The very conflict that is now going on must hasten the development of the army and afford it that training in actual warfare which is better than all maneuvers. They need not be in a hurry to raise Sir Robert Hart’s army of 4,000,000; half a million will suffice to make the continuance of British rule in India impossible. And when India escapes from British control the supremacy of the white race is at an end, the supremacy of Asia assured. Even if southern China cuts loose from the north, that will not alter the result; south China, north China, Japan and India will be a unit on the question of emigration.

“You say China is too poor to fight. You forget that the wars of the first French Republic were

fought entirely on paper money. All authorities bear witness to the integrity and administrative capacity of Chinese business men. If such is the case, do you not see that China may at any moment find her Napoleon, as France did, and as China herself did a dozen times during the past three thousand years? When he begins to turn the rascals out and looks around for honest and able men to take their places, will not the business world offer him an ample choice? And if he thus transforms China into an obedient, efficient machine, do you think he will be content any more than his French prototype or his Chinese predecessors were? British dominion in India hangs by a thread. A Chinese Napoleon could put an end to it with a word, and thus add the 315,000,000 of India to the 435,000,000 of China. The vast Mohammedan world, hissing with hate of Christendom, would instantly join hands with an efficient, triumphant Asiatic league in order to complete and share its supremacy and to wreak the long pent-up vengeance on Europe.

"Then our turn will come. The Chinese leaders gave notice long ago that as soon as they are strong enough they will force open the doors of Australia and America for their emigrants, with cannon if necessary. Then the question will arise: 'Shall America's destiny be controlled by herself or by Asia?' If we do not wish to adopt the policy of the ostrich, trying to banish the peril by shutting our eyes to it; if we wish to make good our boast of being the most active, most clear-sighted, and promptest Nation, we must take the proper steps without delay. A stitch in time saves nine."

The economic Yellow Peril is the form immediately experienced when Asiatics compete with white

labor. The tremendous populations of Asiatic countries for continuous centuries have experienced such keen struggle for existence that only those have survived who are able to live on a low standard and to do an amazing amount of hard work. Asiatics labor contentedly for longer hours of harder toil and for less compensation than do white laborers in any land contiguous to Asiatic ports. With free competition in industry, agriculture, and all forms of manual labor, and probably also in trade, Chinese unquestionably surpass every other race. In their willingness to live on a narrow margin of profits and oftentimes in the most unwholesome, even squalid quarters, Asiatic peoples as a whole far surpass the whites. Now the fear of Asiatics arising to-day in America, British Columbia, New Zealand, Australia, and British Africa is due to the discovery and the rising consciousness of Asiatic economic superiority, together with the inference that as soon as Asia acquires the requisite military power she will demand free emigration for Asiatics to every land controlled by whites.

The military and economic Yellow Perils are, therefore, intimately related. The vast and increasing Asiatic populations will compel their expansion, and for this they will fight. And when they have mastered the secrets of the white man's power, they will turn this knowledge against him. And because of their innumerable hosts of efficient workers and

fighters they will conquer even the white man in the military struggle for existence, and force open the gates that are now closed to Asiatic migrations. Then will follow in each land fierce economic struggles between the laboring classes—yellow and white—with progressive victory for the yellow. But white laborers will not tamely submit. There will be guerilla race warfare in every land—until one race or the other gains complete supremacy throughout the world. But, in view of Chinese industrial superiority, who can doubt the final issue?

Those who see the impending conflict insist that the matter at stake is not only the supremacy but even the very existence of the white race.

The essential and inherent superiority of the white race and its civilization is one of the fundamental postulates of the entire argument. The Asiatic is, indeed, superior in numbers, in ability to live on almost nothing, and perhaps even in certain kinds of brain power. But in the eyes of many both the Asiatic and his civilization are despicable and degrading, and for them to dominate the world would be an unspeakable calamity. Asia may have quantity, but Christendom, they claim, has quality, and, in the nature of things, quality should be supreme. Moreover, as Christendom has won its world-wide supremacy by the sword, by the sword shall it be maintained.

As an illustration of these views I cite the follow-



[On the left] Mrs. Dr. Matsuye Suzuki of Florin, California, who treats both Japanese and American patients. [In the centre]. This young man's father is a Japanese and his mother an American. He can speak no Japanese. He took his college course at Yale. [On the right]. Mr. and Mrs. Nojiri, both born in Japan and educated in America. Their courtship, engagement, and wedding followed approved American customs.

ing paragraphs from the speech by Honorable Frank O. Smith, of Maryland, delivered in the House of Representatives (November 5, 1913):

"All the peace that ever existed within any nation is compulsory; it would not last five minutes were it not for the presence of the executive power with its well-filled store of powder and ball. It is inconceivable how universal peace could exist without a similar executive power strong enough to beat down all opposition and compelled by self-interest to maintain peace just as Britain is compelled to do among the native States of India.

"Now, peace, after all, is not the ultimate end, but merely a means to the ultimate end, which is the increase of human happiness. This does not mean that the majority must always rule; it requires that the elite, the most advanced types of humanity, should have the best chance to spread or at any rate hold their own. The question of the value of various races is a knotty scientific problem for the complete solution of which the data are as yet insufficient. Let us frankly admit that some races have not as yet had adequate opportunities. Let us grant that the mere plea of self-defense or the tie of blood counts for nothing; that if another race were found by trial to be more highly endowed with the qualities that make for the increase of happiness our own race should cheerfully resign the leadership. But while awaiting the reasoned, passionless verdict of science on these points, nothing could be more preposterous than to assume in advance that the verdict will be unfavorable to us and accordingly to let events take a course which must surely deprive our race of the leadership and place it at the mercy of the dusky

majority. The evidence in favor of the superiority of our race is even now fairly overwhelming, and it is highly improbable that new researches will materially alter the balance of argument. Civilization in the future as in the past will mainly depend on its pioneers, and hence it is best for human life as a whole that the pioneer race should have the best chance to spread. We know exactly how we are going to treat the other races so long as we remain in control; we shall continue more and more to—

“ ‘Fill up the mouth of famine
And bid the sickness cease.’

We have not the slightest means of guessing how the other races will treat us if we place ourselves at their mercy.

“Universal arbitration cannot insure the predominance of the highest types, for arbitration resolves itself in the long run into a counting of heads, and for every white face in the world there are two dusky faces. Disarmament, the substitution of universal arbitration in place of armed defense, would simply hasten the coming of the day when we shall have to doff the crown of supremacy and don the cap of subordination and prepare to quit the house which we have swept and garnished. Our very demigods of intellect, whose genius subdued the earth and made every corner of it accessible, would become the authors of our ruin if the science created by them and rightly placed at the disposal of all humanity without stint or discrimination, enabled the other races by their reckless fecundity and callousness, to oust us from the competition for those means of existence which nature necessarily awards to the lowest bidder.

“There is only one way to prevent this. Fortu-

nately, the surrender has not yet proceeded far. For the present we white men are as yet incomparably superior in power to all the other races, and we can easily remain so if we will."

Not a few see the Yellow Peril in less lurid form, but nevertheless a peril. They make no assumption of inherent white superiority or of essential yellow inferiority. They assert only the conspicuous fact of difference due to ages of divergent developments. They assume, however, that these differences are so fixed that the adoption of our civilization by Asiatics, even though living in our midst, is impossible and our acceptance of theirs undesirable. They accordingly conclude that the races must be kept forever apart. Otherwise insoluble race problems will arise and forever remain.

Admiral Mahan well illustrates this view in his letter in *The Times* (June, 1913), in reply to Sir Valentine Chirol:

"Personally I entirely reject any assumption or belief that my race is superior to the Chinese or Japanese, but my own suits me better. This probably is because I am used to it, but I wholly disclaim, as unworthy of myself and them, any thought of superiority. But with equal clearness I see and avow the difficulties of assimilation which are due to the formative influences of our divergent pasts.

"What the racial difficulty entails, even where the past has been one of close contact and common experiences, the present Austrian empire can testify,

and Britons, too, may look to the French in Canada, to the Boers in South Africa, though these latter are of the same general Teuton stock.

"While recognizing what I clearly see to be the great superiority of the Japanese as of the white over the negro, it appeals to me as reasonable that a great number of my fellow-citizens, knowing the problem we have in the colored race among us, should dread the introduction of what they believe will constitute another race problem, and one much more difficult because the virile qualities of the Japanese will still more successfully withstand assimilation, constituting a homogeneous foreign mass, naturally acting together, irrespective of national welfare, and so will be the perennial cause of a friction with Japan even more dangerous than at present.

"It is not a color question, though that may emphasize the difficulty. It is the recurrent problem which confronts Germany in Poland, Austria in her Slav provinces, Canada in her French population and South Africa in the Boers.

"Despite her gigantic success up to the present in her assimilative processes, America doubts her power to digest and assimilate the strong national and racial characteristics which distinguish the Japanese, which are the secret of much of their success, and which, if I am not mistaken, would constitute them a continually solid and homogeneous body, essentially and unchangingly foreign."

Two methods for warding off the Yellow Peril are now advocated. The first is already widely adopted in all white lands adjacent to Asia, namely, Asiatic exclusion. The whites have built, for protection against peaceful invasion by Asiatics, a wall longer

by thousands of miles than the great wall of China. Will it prove more effective and permanent?

This method proposes to keep each race to the territories they now hold. Hindoos, Chinese, and Japanese must stay in Asia, however many they are and whatever may be their needs; while the white races may possess and exploit the rest of the earth.

The execution of this policy depends, of course, on military power. The wall of exclusion is built and maintained by armies and navies. The power of each separate white people has thus far been quite enough.

But a new thought is emerging. Japan's amazing victory over Russia has raised doubts among white nations. The despised Asiatic, armed and drilled with Western weapons, is a power that must be reckoned with. In the not distant future Asia, armed, drilled, and united, will surpass in power, they aver, any single white people, and it is accordingly a peril to the rest of the world. A new plan for safety has already been conceived and is now being discussed in the council halls of the nations.

In his famous letter to the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, held in Boston in 1904, Mr. Carnegie, with no thought whatever of the Yellow Peril, made the following suggestion:

"Since we have at last in The Hague tribunal a permanent high court for the settlement of international disputes more and more my thoughts turn

upon the next possible and necessary step forward to an agreement by certain powers to prevent appeals to war by civilized nations.

"Suppose, for instance, that Britain, France, Germany, and America, with such minor States as would certainly join them, were to take that position, prepared, if defied, to enforce peaceful settlement, the first offender (if ever there were one) being rigorously dealt with, war would at one fell swoop be banished from the earth. For such a result surely the people of these four countries would be willing to risk much. The risk, however, would be trifling. A strong combination would efface it altogether. I think, this one simple plan most likely to commend itself to the intelligent masses. A committee might be formed to consider this. If a body of prominent men of each nation agreed to unite in urging the co-operation of their respective countries in the movement, I think the idea would soon spread."

Colonel Roosevelt, in his address at Christiania in 1910, presented the same thought in the following words:

"It would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a league of peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others."

This suggestion has proved a stimulating thought to those who see the impending military Yellow Peril.

Honorable Albert Johnson, already quoted, regards Alaska as in imminent danger of capture by Japan. Not only does he advocate the construction of a

Panama-to-Alaska railway in order that America may have facilities for defence along the entire Pacific coast, but he also urges an offensive and defensive alliance of the four great white nations as the only safe policy for the white race in the coming conflict with Asia.

"What are the proper steps? Against united Asia, a power of 900,000,000, soon to number 1,000,000,000, there is but one defense—the early union of the white nations. This, therefore, must be the keynote of our policy. I am glad to be able to announce that a movement ¹ in that direction has been started in this very capital of the Nation, and that a promise of co-operation has already been received from Europe. I feel confident that the seed has fallen on fertile soil and in the right season, and while its growth may not be as rapid as the planters might wish, it has every prospect of bearing fruit. . . .

"Many of you feel it a burden to have to maintain a navy sufficient to hold its own against the Japanese navy, supported by the meagre resources of a nation of fifty millions. What sort of a navy shall we have to maintain when the rival on the other side of the Pacific numbers 900,000,000? And what about the army? Europe, with 440,000,000 population, keeps 5,000,000 men under arms. Asia, with more than

¹ The movement to which Mr. Johnson refers, the Pan-Aryan Association, has put forth an outline of its proposition, the principal parts of which are given in the congressional report of Mr. Johnson's speech. As a matter of fact, the association is as yet the proposition of a single individual—a German—with whom I conversed in Washington. Supposing him to be the secretary, I asked him who the other officers of the association were, to which he humorously replied: "I am it."

twice the population, can easily keep 8,000,000. Can you conceive of any way by which we could then escape compulsory military service? Australia and New Zealand have already been compelled to adopt it.

"Any one can see that the four great powder-making nations, the four great gun-making, machine-using, coal-mining, shipbuilding, money-owning, technically trained nations, representing probably nine-tenths of the world's industry, would together constitute such an overwhelming power as to make war henceforth impossible. It would mean the almost immediate arrest of armaments and their gradual reduction to a mere fraction of their present size. Not only would our insurance policy cost us nothing, but it would greatly reduce our present expenditure. This union of the four leading nations we can bring about by simply creating an organization for the purpose."

The speech by the Honorable Frank O. Smith, already quoted, also deals with this proposition; it contains many remarkable points. He advocates the establishment of an "International Executive Power to Insure Universal Peace and the Union and Supremacy of the White Race." The occasion of his speech was the resolution that "The President be requested to negotiate with the British and Canadian Governments regarding the transfer of southeastern Alaska to Canada by sale or exchange or both."

The argument presented was that by ceding to Canada that strip of Alaska, 536 miles long by 8 to 35 miles wide, which Canada needs and we do not,

we shall set before the world such a contagious example of conciliation and good-will that many concessions will be made among the nations of Europe and finally the effective union among the whites be attained, which is essential to the maintenance of their supremacy in the face of the rising power of Asia. I select further typical sentences for quotation:

“The purpose of the resolution is not only to promote good feeling between the United States and Canada, but also to take a decisive step toward universal peace. The reasoning is very simple. Peace is not possible without an executive power to enforce it. An international executive power to enforce universal peace can not be organized until the leading nations make certain mutual concessions. The purpose of the resolution is to advocate these mutual concessions by the most persuasive, the most in-offensive method—that of example, by making a model concession to Canada. It deals with what I consider the most important problem of the day—the union of the white race as the only means to maintain its supremacy. . . . The ultimate object is the promotion of universal peace by the most practical means, to wit, an international executive power consisting of the four leading white nations, Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. . . .

“The external pressure which may be expected to squeeze Britain, France, Germany, and the United States into union has been well described by my fellow legislator, Mr. Albert Johnson—the growing power of eastern Asia, which threatens within a few years to drive Britain out of India and Australia,

France out of Indo-China, Holland out of the Dutch East Indies, and, thus re-enforced, to swallow Siberia and finally overwhelm Russia herself and bring countless Mongol hosts once more to the frontier of Germany as in 1241. In the face of this common danger the continuance of disunion among the great white nations is really a piece of childish levity. . . .

"Keep up that programme (of quarrelling in Europe) till Asia, united and fully armed, asserts her long-claimed right to colonize—and no human being was ever born that would not assert the right to better his condition when he had the power—and your paper treaties of arbitration will be blown away in an instant by a world-wide cyclone of war, compared to which all past wars would be games of baseball. To delay the settlement of the burning questions another day is to hazard the timely union, the supremacy, the very existence, of the white race. . . .

"To our neighbor, Canada, we can make a model concession which would electrify the world, take the heart of Europe by storm, sweep away the inertia of a hundred wrongly accomplished facts, and continue for centuries tearing iron shirts of pernicious habit into shreds."

CHAPTER XIII

THE PERILS—YELLOW AND WHITE (CONTINUED)

THE Yellow Peril as conceived by the whites and the methods proposed for meeting it occupied our attention in the last chapter. In this we consider the White Peril as conceived by Asiatics and the methods they propose for meeting it.

With the discovery of America the greed of the white races for land and gold was awakened. Exploration and conquest went hand in hand. Little bands of armed white men found themselves superior to countless hosts of colored foes. The religion of the times promoted foreign conquest. Spanish soldiers of fortune accompanied by priests for the propagation of the faith first "fell upon their knees and then upon the aborigines," as a witty historian has described it.

The white peoples of western Europe soon developed the conviction that the world and all that is therein were made for their special benefit; that all the peoples and wealth of pagan lands were legitimate objects of plunder and spoliation; that it was their divinely given right to own, rule, and exploit every land and people they discovered. The kings

and potentates of Europe gave to favorites vast territories still unconquered, to which their only title was that of partial discovery. The prior rights of the natives gave them no second thought. The white man was wholly within his God-given rights in taking all he could and in killing those who opposed.

The millions ruthlessly butchered, the awful crimes committed by white invaders of central and southern America, and the wrongs inflicted on Indians in North America constitute a page in the history of white men that is horrible and humiliating to think of. And this general aim of dominating, by brutal force if necessary, over every colored race throughout the world has taken possession of the white nations of Europe and still rules their hearts.

Victorious, world-wide conquest has gone on without serious check. In 1904, however, for the first time since modern history began has a colored race successfully defended its homeland from white invaders—for that was the significance of the Russo-Japanese War. In the course of these four hundred years of unbroken conquest the peoples of Europe have taken the entire new world—America, North and South; practically all of Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia, and large parts of Asia. Only Japan and China remained, and it looked, in 1900, as though China, because of her inner corruption, reactionary policy, and opium craze, was soon to be dis-

membered and taken over by the European nations. Preliminary to the partition of China, Russia needed Korea, where she could have her hand on Japan's throat.

But Russia and the world did not know Japan. Port Arthur, the naval battle in the Straits of Tsushima and Mukden, repelled the white invasion. A turning-point was reached in the history of the military relations of the East and West as significant probably for Asia as the battles of Salamis and Poitiers were in the history of Europe.

Europe discovered that her dreams of world domination were disputed; that the partition of China was by no means a foregone conclusion. All Asia was electrified and inspired with new hope. The true way to meet the White Peril was now at last taught to the races that had been helpless and hopeless. New China and Persia and Turkey have already come into existence and are starting along the path of inner development.

The way in which Japan met and overcame the White Peril is highly instructive.

When Francis Xavier and the Roman Catholic missionaries reached Japan, in the middle of the sixteenth century, they were welcomed and every opportunity was given them to preach their new faith. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese became Christians in the course of the following sixty years; some maintain that as many as a million converts were se-

cured. Japanese representatives went to Rome and saw impressive sights and heard strange tales of conquests of vast continents. They also learned of the fierce conflicts between south and north Europe, between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity, and of the Inquisition.

The rulers in Japan and Japanese travellers abroad soon discovered the ambitions and greed of white races. They concluded, ere long, that the white man and his religion were dangers to be avoided. The method decided upon was exclusion. Christianity was accordingly exterminated with great loss of life both by warfare and by persecution. Not only were all foreigners to be kept out of Japan, but no Japanese were to travel abroad nor was trade with foreign lands to be permitted. Japan, therefore, destroyed her largest seaworthy three-masted junks and built no more. Japanese left their native land at the peril of their lives. All oversea commerce and even pirating expeditions along the coast of China were forbidden.

For two hundred and fifty years Japan thus lived entirely to herself, safe from the peril of the white man. Exclusion was her policy, and so far as exclusion was concerned it was an unquestioned success. It was absolute. But she paid a heavy penalty. Who can tell what her attainments in many lines might not have been had her bright and enterprising sons been allowed to acquire the world's best knowl-

edge. She would certainly have been spared the bitter experience of finding herself belated in the race and compelled to adopt such heroic measures as have been necessary during the past fifty years in order, in a measure, to catch up with the rest of the world and attain sufficient power to maintain her independence.

Discovering, in 1853, that the white man was upon her with irresistible power, having ships that by some magic sailed without wind and guns and cannon far surpassing hers, and seeing the fate which had just befallen China in her two opium wars, Japan abandoned her policy of exclusion and decided instead of excluding the foreigner to learn from him, to master the secrets of his power, and to adopt as much of his civilization as she found useful and true. And this has been the significance of her history for the past fifty years, with results which all the world now knows.

Though fearing, despising, and hating the white man, his civilization and his religion, yet she bowed her proud head. She became as a little child. She acknowledged her error and now has discovered that, after all, it was the way of life. The medicine was not so bad. It has given her fresh power and a recognized position among the great nations, along with a new wealth of inner richness the full measure of which she finds hard to estimate.

Japan to-day stands where the two streams of

civilization meet. And they are meeting there because of what she has done. To all Asia she points the way of national independence and the way in which to meet the White Peril. Does she also point for Western nations the way in which to meet the Yellow Peril?

The white man little realizes the feeling against him entertained throughout Asia. The yellow man despises him as cordially as the yellow man is despised by him. But there is a difference. In addition to this feeling of scorn, the average educated Asiatic who knows the world-situation is filled with indignation at the high-handed methods of the whites. He sees the plight in which east Asia is placed.

She is hemmed in by white men on every side. Now that Western ideas and ideals are gripping the East, infanticide is being forbidden. Occidental hygiene, medicine, and surgery, moreover, along with occidental belief in the value of the individual, are working mightily for the prolongation of life. This has already resulted in the doubling of the population of Japan since she adopted Western civilization. When these new ideals and practices gain full headway in China and India, how enormous will be the populations to be fed and governed! Whence will come the needed food? or where can Asiatics go for work?

Moreover, with the increasing intelligence of Asia there is rising national and racial self-consciousness

and rising indignation at the loss of sovereignty which every nation save Japan has experienced. How can China recover complete sovereignty? How can she regain Kiao Chao, Shanghai, Hongkong, and Indo-China?

Would Americans feel satisfied were Staten Island owned by France, New Jersey seized and held by Italy because of certain murdered Italians, Cape Cod possessed by Germany, and Manhattan Island divided up into foreign concessions and owned and governed by the various nations? Would Americans be quite friendly toward those nations that had robbed her? Such, however, is practically the condition of China. The indignation of her educated, wide-awake people is none the less real because not openly expressed. But the day will come when that indignation will be expressed.

That these statements are not without foundation let the following facts attest: Three years ago, while lecturing in the Imperial University in Kyoto in the department of Comparative Religion, I was asked by the secretary of the Buddhist Young Men's Association to read for him a long English letter from the secretary of a Hindoo Young Men's Association in India. The purport of the letter was that the white peoples had seized all the land of the weaker people whose rights they entirely ignored; it told of the sexual passions of white men who ruin the homes of Asiatics, giving a few specific incidents,

and it closed with the appeal that all Asia should unite not only to prevent further depredations but finally to drive the white man entirely out of Asia.

In the winter of 1912-13 Mr. Tokutomi, one of Japan's most brilliant and influential editors, coined a new word, "hakubatsu," which may be translated "albinocracy," or "white-domination." In a series of editorials he set forth the mighty power of the white nations contrasted with the weakness of the other races. He did not blame the former. It was merely a case of struggle for existence and victory of the strong over the weak. The colored races were weak and deserved to be beaten. The point of the editorials was that we, Japanese, must be strong and able, as well as the white men, to take our fair share in the rule of the world and in the possession of its wealth.

In May, 1913, there was published in a Japanese magazine, and republished in the *Japan Advertiser*, an article on "The White Peril," by Professor Nagai, of Waseda University, Tokyo. Here, too, the respective positions of the white and yellow races in America, Canada, Africa, Australia, and Asia were stated. From his closing paragraphs a few sentences may be quoted: "The present attitude of the white races may be white but it certainly is not Christian. . . . How can the white races have the face to demand equal opportunities in the Far East when

they have denied them to the Far East in the West. . . . We do not pretend to be Christian, but we believe in doing unto others that which we would have them do unto us! . . . If one race assumes the right to appropriate all the wealth, why should not all other races feel ill-used and protest? . . . If the white races truly love peace and wish to deserve the name of Christian nations, they will practice what they preach and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld. They will rise to the generosity of welcoming our citizens among them as heartily as we do theirs among us. . . . We, therefore, appeal to the white races to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly co-operation. This will convince us of their sincerity more quickly than a thousand proclamations of peace and good-will while denying us sympathy and fair play. Words and attitudes without charity are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."

During the summer of 1913 a series of educational lectures for western Japan was given in Osaka. One of the series was delivered by an eloquent Hindoo, Dharmapala, on "Japan's Duty to the World." The orator described at length the destruction wrought by Mohammedan and Christian marauders in all parts of the world, particularly in Asia, a story all too true and dramatically told. Japan alone has escaped; she is the custodian of the sublime Aryan civilization, and is now the one colored race able to

lead the forces of Asia in their conflict with the White Peril. "To the great Aryanized family, whose home is India, numbering about 800,000,000, belong the Japanese, Koreans, Mongolians, Chinese, Siamese, Cambodians, Burmese, Sinhalese. This great Asiatic brotherhood, under the leadership of Japan can again regain their lost place in the world's history. . . . Japan, by its superior status, therefore, is perfectly justified in guiding the destinies of the Asiatic races."

The use of the Aryan name by both Occidental and Oriental in describing their own race and civilization as against the opposing peril is no less suggestive than it is amusing. May it not be prophetic?

But, in contrast to these utterances proclaiming the White Peril, note what Count Okuma is reported to have said in regard to India: "India was at the head of all civilized countries in ancient times, but what was the cause by which she was reduced to her present state? She brought it about herself. She fell behind, because her social organization did not conform to the international standard. From the reprehensible caste institution, from religious superstitions, conjoined with various other causes, the Indian nation has been unable to withstand international competition. The rise or fall of a nation is brought about by the people themselves, and no other force is responsible for a nation's downfall. Rome was not brought to its destruction by the northern

barbarians, but by the Romans themselves. Therefore, I always give advice to my most beloved Indian friends to cease from their aversion to England, and to recognize their own weak points and to cultivate the knowledge and morality that correspond to the present world requirements."

Baron Kikuchi, moreover, former Minister of Education and later President of the Imperial University of Kyoto, at present a member of the Imperial Privy Council, writing about Japan's place in Asia and her ambitions for leadership, makes the following statement: "There seems to be some misunderstanding in America and Europe about our 'pretensions'; we are supposed to stand forth as the champion of the East against the West, leaders of the yellow race against the white. We make no such pretension; we have always striven to take whatever we find in the Western civilization, material, intellectual and moral, superior to our original civilization, trying at the same time to preserve whatever is worth preserving in our own. Our ambition, if we have any beyond that, is to act as a sort of interpreter between East and West; we can perhaps do more to make them intelligible to one another than any other nation, so that all this race antagonism, based upon mutual ignorance, may at last be done away with. In the mean time we want to be judged for ourselves, on our intrinsic merits, upon what we have proved ourselves to be, and not upon what we are imagined

to be from the color of our skin or the situation of our country."

Asiatic proposals for meeting the White Peril have already been more than suggested. Japan has indeed discovered for herself, as we have seen, the road, and all Asia has observed and begun to follow.

The first reaction of Asia on meeting the white man was fear, scorn, exclusion. India with her mutiny and China with her Boxer uprising tried to establish exclusion, but too late. For well-nigh a century both India and China thought they could exclude occidental influence by ignoring it and despising it; but Christian missionaries, educators, and physicians gradually entered their lands, as also they entered Japan, taught their young men, healed their sick, fed their famine sufferers, had pity on their lepers and outcasts, and gave mighty object-lessons of the real teachings and spirit of true Christianity.

Slowly all the East has come to see and believe that there are white men and white men. By their patience in well-doing, by returning good for evil and love for hate, by their endurance of persecution and even of martyrdom, by their wisdom, skill, and amazing efficiency—in a word, by their lives of self-sacrifice, seeking no reward of men, nor even to be seen of men, missionaries have accomplished the impossible; they have broken down mighty race prejudice to an incredible degree. They have convinced all Asia that Christianity is at least a good

religion, and that true Christians, though white, are good people. Asia now knows that not all white men believe in brutal race aggression; that among the whites are large numbers who strive to make goodness, truth, and justice prevail among the nations, who are sincere and honest friends of the yellow man.

These influences, with the example of successful Japan and the testimony of those who have lived in Western lands, have entirely broken down the historic attitude of Asia toward the West. To-day all Asia is beginning to sit at the feet of Europe and America to learn. They desire to assimilate our civilization so far as they find it good and of help to them in building up their national life and recovering their lost sovereignty.

Asia proposes to acquire the white man's mastery of nature, to gain access to his sources of power, to develop the material instruments of civilization and wealth, to raise the standard of life for all her peoples, and, as a means to this and to the attainment of political independence and power, she plans to arm and drill her armies and build her navies.

In a word, Asia proposes to make the West her teacher, and thus to turn what she has regarded as her most menacing danger into a source of highest benefit.

That Asia or any part of it has plans for aggressive vengeance on the white man, or expectation of ability

to conquer the white man at his own game—world-wide warfare and conquest—appears nowhere. At this stage of their development Asiatics would be immensely satisfied if they could successfully hold their own against the white man, regaining lost territory and re-establishing complete sovereignty. More than that is not in their wildest dreams—less than that would be ignominious.

This statement of the White Peril has been made as objective as possible, *i. e.*, from the standpoint of Asiatics. In view of the white man's outrageous treatment of the colored races, it is no doubt difficult for Asiatics to see any justification whatever for the white man's world-wide expansion. As a matter of fact, however, this whole situation has been practically inevitable. It has arisen out of the long ages of divergent evolution producing diverse races, languages, and civilizations. Some peoples are inevitably in advance of others on specific lines of development. Any race developing as the white has developed would have entered on the same course of world-discovery and conquest and would have treated alien races in the same way. It is hard for conquered races to acknowledge that they themselves are in part to blame for the way in which they have been treated. Japanese partial loss of sovereignty from 1853 to 1899, however, was due to her defective civilization and laws which allowed inhuman



Japanese children in the Methodist Home in San Francisco, many of them American born. One near the centre is only half Japanese. Many of the children are orphans.

treatment of individuals charged with crime and to her intolerance of all aliens. Chinese civilization, too, though admirable in many respects, has been abominably belated in others. If the East and the West were ever to come into contact at all, treaty ports and extra-territorial administration of justice were inevitable. Japan and China were not prepared to supervise communities composed of individuals of many nationalities. The subjection of India to British rule was no part of a general plan of conquest. It grew out of the chaotic political situation in India and the inability of her antagonistic castes, tribes, and provinces to maintain stable government. If China is finally partitioned among the "powers," it will really be through Chinese political incompetence. Japan's absorption of Korea was likewise due to Korean political corruption and incompetence. The White Peril, accordingly, is not to be conceived as due exclusively to wanton aggression. Through the development of man's mastery of nature, world-wide discovery, with the contact of races, was inevitable. Because of diverse languages, mutual understanding was impossible. Different social customs and ideals—along with man's natural selfishness and greed—inevitably led to conflict. White military superiority inevitably resulted in conquest. But the time has come for whites and yellows and browns and blacks to seek methods of peace and progress. These can come about only through

mutual understanding, the development of goodwill, and the spirit of mutual helpfulness. The advanced must aid the belated and the belated must learn of the advanced. Industrial competence and social and political integrity and efficiency must be developed in every land. Only so can any land become fit, under the stern laws of nature, to survive and succeed.

CHAPTER XIV

ILLUSIONS—OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL

FEW aspects of history are more amazing than the illusions that have dominated mankind for ages. Witchcraft, the evil eye, hobgoblins and fairies, demons, demoniacal possession and countless deities, grotesque heavens and hells—unnumbered “fixed ideas” have gripped the human race and led it to all kinds of conduct which now appear the height of folly. Extraordinarily gifted with powers of constructive thought and imagination, men have placed excessive reliance on uncontrolled subjectivism; they have ascribed objective validity to every idea or fancy that has emerged into consciousness.

The age of emancipation, however, has come. Men are discovering that mind cannot remain a vacuum; until filled with knowledge in regard to objects which attract attention and demand some kind of conduct, the mind from its own inner sources supplies suggestions, guesses, inferences based on its own fears, ambitions, and desires. Since these subjective constructions, however, do not correspond to fact, they are of the nature of illusions. And since, in the absence of knowledge, they seem highly plausi-

ble, they are quickly shared by millions of individuals, and the belief of each confirms that of the rest and thus they seem as solid as the earth itself. And this leads to disastrous national and race conduct.

Mankind is finding the corrective value of accurate and adequate observation and rational thought thereon—science and philosophy. These have banished countless phantoms of past ages and led mankind thus far on his way to an accurate knowledge of the world he lives in and to sane and wholesome life therein.

What, then, are the outstanding illusions which have produced the Yellow and White Perils?

An essential element in all statements of the Yellow Peril is the assumption that all Asia will unite in a single compact body to hurl itself in vengeance on the whites and force open the doors now closed to Asiatic immigration.

This assumption forgets that the mutual antipathies between the Asiatic nations are as intense as those between European peoples. No easy undertaking would it be to unite Russia, England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Spain into a single compact group fighting under a single head. Equally difficult would it be to effect a similar union among the undisciplined and uneducated provinces, nations, and tribes of Asia. The only conceivable condition under which such a Pan-Asiatic Alliance could arise would be the universal

consciousness of a common foe. Should Europe and America form an actual alliance whose avowed end was, or was believed to be, the military subjugation of all Asia, a Pan-Asiatic Alliance might possibly arise. The only force that could drive together those antipathetic masses would be such a movement as is proposed by the Pan-Aryan Association and the wide knowledge in Asia of such anti-Asiatic speeches as are now being made in Christendom.

Only ignorance of the actual situation in Asia could conceive of a Pan-Asiatic Alliance as arising independently of the fear of overwhelming Euro-American invasion. Fear, then, each of the other's aggressive military invasion, is the only possible condition under which the nations of each group could be forced to combine.

The white man's fear of the military Yellow Peril entirely overlooks the fact that all east Asiatics from India to Japan are by nature peace-loving. China and India have been subject for ages to alien rulers for lack of warlike instincts. Japan alone seems addicted to war; yet better knowledge discloses her people as inherently peace-loving. Save for one short period, three hundred years ago, she has never wantonly invaded a foreign land. Her recent war with Russia was essentially a war of defence. It would never have been undertaken had her national existence not been at stake. Japan is no more addicted to war than France or Germany or even

England. The late date to which her feudal system continued is not to be misunderstood as due to fondness for fighting. Japan herself regards the last three hundred years of her history as the era of the "great peace."

Now, is it conceivable that the whole East, from India to Japan—where for centuries the spirit of peace has ruled to such an extraordinary degree if compared with Europe for the same period—is it conceivable that the whole East is about to develop a violent, aggressive military spirit, threatening the existence even of the mighty nations of Europe and America? Is not this an amazing occidental illusion?

Those, moreover, who dread the impending invasions of Asiatics little appreciate the changed conditions of warfare produced by modern civilization. They think it still possible for Asiatics to swarm across the seas and overrun the continents as in the days of the Huns and Tartars, Goths, Teutons, Norsemen, and Normans; or even as Spain and Portugal swept Central and South America or as Napoleon vanquished Europe. They forget that we are living in a new era. Our life has changed so fast in the past fifty years that there is some excuse, no doubt, for still thinking in terms of mediævalism. This is true for the masses in many directions, especially in philosophy and theology. Is not this the real reason why the Yellow Peril appeal sounds so plausible? It is, nevertheless, a great illusion.

No longer can armies and navies live off the country they ravage. They must be continuously supplied from their base. The mechanics of warfare are so enormous and intricate that only extraordinary genius and industry can even maintain existence to say nothing about success. For an army thus constituted to sweep across a continent two, three, or four thousand miles broad, as did the Huns and Tartars, is simply impossible. Should Asiatics attempt to swarm over Siberia into Russia and Europe, as did their predecessors of old, a few Maxim guns would summarily annihilate them.

Similarly in regard to invasion by sea. California has been trembling at her helplessness should Japan attack her. Mr. Homer Lea, in his "Valour of Ignorance," has pictured how Japan could easily capture the entire Pacific coast. Honorable Albert Johnson thinks Alaska in imminent peril and that it may be utilized as a base for the seizure of California and other States bordering on the Pacific. Even a little knowledge of actual conditions of modern naval warfare shows, however, that these fears are groundless.

The periodic Yellow Peril scare pictures hundreds of thousands of Asiatics swarming in their ships across the seas. But how many ships would be needed to transport them?

To fight the Boers, England, with absolutely undisputed possession of the sea and having the largest mercantile marine in the world at her disposal, spent

nine months in transporting to South Africa, from England, India, and Australia, 199,655 men and their equipment, with 81,751 horses and mules. This required three hundred and fifty-one outward voyages.

American naval authorities, estimating their need for transportation facilities in case of oversea conflicts, state that "a single army unit, consisting of a division with nine infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, three artillery battalions, one engineer battalion, and one company of signal-corps, with the necessary hospital, ammunition, and supply wagons, would require for its transportation ten 6,500-ton and nine 5,500-ton transports."

Now, how many men are included in this reckoning? only 12,500! To transport 100,000 men and their needed equipment, to say nothing of food and ammunition for a campaign, would require one hundred and fifty-two seagoing transports, aggregating 916,000 tons. On the sea, sailing five abreast, one thousand feet apart, this fleet would make a column a mile wide and six miles long. At night or during stormy weather they would need two or three times as much space.

And how large a fleet of dreadnoughts, armored cruisers, torpedo-boats, etc., etc., would be needed to protect these transports. Only an expert can say.

But for such a fleet to cross the Pacific and attack a hostile land which knows of its coming and which

possesses its own dreadnoughts, cruisers, torpedo-boats, and flying-machines would be the wildest folly. It would soon be in the condition of Rozdestvensky's famous Armada when it met the Japanese.

In these days, for a transoceanic military invasion, the invading force should first clear the sea and air of foes. Only then could it possibly cross over and effect a landing.

Should Asiatics invent new methods of warfare, or weapons distinctly superior to those we now have, we might conceive of a successful invasion of America, but not otherwise. To think it possible under present conditions is illusion. The extent and persistence of the Yellow Peril scare prove how widespread the mediæval conception of war still is.

A specific case of the Yellow Peril illusion is Captain Hobson's and Homer Lea's Japanese-invasion hallucination.

Japan's navy might, conceivably, seize Honolulu and, after demolishing our navy (!), shell San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. But these are unfortified cities, and Japan would surely follow the laws of modern warfare in regard to non-combatants.

Not until Japan had cleared the entire Pacific of America's dreadnoughts and aeroplanes could she venture on the transportation of her army. But what are her facilities for transportation? For ocean service, the number of her transports of 5,000 tons or over is only thirty-two; she has two hundred and

sixty-nine boats of from 500 to 2,000 tons and one hundred and seventy-six boats of from 2,000 to 5,000 tons. Japan's ocean transportation, accordingly, is probably insufficient to carry at one voyage from Japan to America a single army division! The trip to San Francisco would occupy not less than from four to six weeks.

From the psychological standpoint, however, a Japanese invasion is still more unthinkable.

What would be Japan's motive—to force Asiatic immigration upon us and compel us to grant citizenship rights to Japanese? What profit would that be to Japan? Some few Japanese individuals might be the gainers, but the nation would have an enormously increased debt and still heavier war taxes to pay! Moreover, Japan does not want her able-bodied and enterprising young people to emigrate in large numbers to foreign lands. She needs them for her own development and for national defence.

Could the seizure of the Pacific coast and ownership of its vast agricultural and mineral resources be a motive? Were Indians still, as of old, the only inhabitants, that might be a conceivable motive. But to take possession of it now, with its large cities and aggressive, resourceful population of millions, would entail a prolonged war and incalculable expense. The subjugation of Formosa she has found to be a most difficult task, and it is not complete yet after nearly twenty years of possession. Such consider-

ations as these would effectually inhibit a war with America for territorial aggression.

The cost of war with America would consist not only of the sums positively expended but also of the failure of receipts from her usual trade. America is by far Japan's best customer. Her entire industrial system and the prosperity of hundreds of thousands—nay, millions—of her people depend on commercial relations with America. To begin war with the United States would at once paralyze entire industries, throw into disorder her whole economic organization, and reduce a considerable proportion of her people to the point of starvation.

Nor is this all. In order to make the first move in so vast an undertaking, Japan would have to borrow hundreds of millions, even a billion or more dollars for the purchase of war material; for war with America would be vastly more expensive than was her late war with Russia. Who would lend her the money? For special reasons she was then able to borrow from England and America. Who would befriend her now? Would England or Russia or Germany or France? From the economic standpoint alone, therefore, Hobson's hallucination is a craft much lighter than air.

Russia, moreover, stands at Japan's back door. Would she hesitate to take advantage of Japan's preoccupation to settle up old scores and retake southern Manchuria, Port Arthur, and Korea?

No, Alaska and California, Honolulu and even the Philippines are perfectly safe. Not a mile of railroad nor a single fortress is needed. Even the fortifications of Honolulu are superfluous. The real safety of these regions rests entirely on their organic relation to the United States. The whole American nation stands back of them; the Stars and Stripes cover them.

Japan, on the other hand, needs the friendship of America. No interests of her immigrants in California, no desires to acquire the rights of American citizenship, and no needs even for territorial expansion could possibly be a sufficient motive for war with both the United States and Russia together.

Hobson's hallucination is, in truth, ludicrous, more preposterous by far than the periodic war scares of Germany and England. It rests on complete failure to appreciate the actual situation in Japan and what an attempted Japanese invasion of America would mean.

The Yellow Peril illusion assumes that when Asiatic population becomes too large for the means of support and Asiatics learn of relatively unoccupied territories in possession of white races they will organize enormous military expeditions with which to batter down the white walls of exclusion.

Several considerations render this assumption incredible. Nations never have fought and, it is safe

to say, never will fight for privileges of emigration for their own laboring classes; rather they wish to keep them at home. Nations fight for sovereignty, for honor, for territory, or in self-defence. But merely to give citizens opportunity for expatriation is an inconceivable motive for ocean-wide warfare. The marauding Huns and Tartars were not armies fighting for national privileges, but consisted of the emigrants themselves who, taking their all with them, sought new lands in which to live. We cannot conceive of hordes of Asiatic emigrants forcing their way to-day by military superiority into America, Australia, Africa, or New Zealand. The world-situation does not allow it. This age provides, indeed, for enormous peaceful migrations, but military migrations of large populations are no longer possible.

Moreover, the assumption implies that Asiatic population will multiply indefinitely and produce a virile stock well able to fight regardless of food supply. This implication, however, is a palpable error. If population expands beyond food supply, the population will be constantly subject to famine and disease, rendering it unfit for war physically and unable economically.

Again, as advanced standards of life become general in Asia and as occidental science gains wide following, will they not have the same effect in checking excessive population as they have had in the West? The hallucination, accordingly, of an overwhelming

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Asiatic immigration forced upon us by military and naval conquest rests upon many highly improbable assumptions.

CHAPTER XV

ILLUSIONS—OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL (CONTINUED)

THE Yellow Peril illusion ever assumes that Asia is soon to acquire the entire industrial and mechanical skill of Christendom, and that then she will be able to overthrow the white man. This assumption fails to recognize important considerations.

In the first place, Europe and America are but at the beginning of their industrial development. While Asia is painfully learning what we now are doing, we shall be advancing by leaps and bounds to new attainments. Is it conceivable that white brains have reached the limit of their capacity—that Western civilization has no progress before it? On the contrary, has not man's mastery of nature's secrets and forces only begun? And are not the white races decades ahead of all others? Is there a particle of danger of our losing our lead in this matter?

If Asiatics can excel in our own special field, can explore the inner processes of nature, utilize them more speedily and effectively than we, then, indeed, shall we be forced to admit their superiority, and sooner or later we must yield submission. The real

basis of white—nay, of Teutonic—supremacy lies not in the machinery of civilization but rather in the brain that invents the machinery and in the moral character that makes possible the social organism that utilizes the machinery. Not the gun nor the man behind the gun, but the man who invents not only the gun but all the tools and organization of civilization is what really counts.

But even in the matter of Asiatic acquisition of occidental civilization there is far more difficulty than is ordinarily supposed. Every one of our multitudinous arts and industries depends on workmen of specialized skill whose "trick" is passed on from foreman to journeyman, from man to man, by personal instruction. The essence of a civilization lies not in its tools and instruments but in the specialized brains and muscles and hearts of the men who make and use them.

To this fact is due the enormous and quite unrecognized difficulty in the acquisition by one people of the civilization of another. A boy does not learn to swim by standing on the shore and merely watching another boy swim. No one could ever learn to make a good watch merely by watching the process. Japan is to-day experiencing this fact with keen disappointment. She has accomplished much in many lines—much less, however, than those think who quake before the Yellow Peril spectre. She has imitated all kinds of manufactures; because of her cheap

labor she expected to take over our industries; she has tried and has failed. Somehow the "knack" which lurks in the brains and muscles of our skilled workmen is not so easily acquired. Asiatics may get our machinery and even imitate our wares, but these wares lack the quality. How often the Japanese themselves have remarked on this fact! Cheap Asiatic labor is, in truth, expensive because so inefficient when applied to occidental civilization.

This principle is well illustrated by the lost arts. In Japan the making of swords was carried on from generation to generation in families who became famous. Those families passed away and with them their skill. The swords remain, and written accounts of how they were made, but the secret has been lost.

Were every watchmaker in Christendom suddenly to die, even with the watches as models, how many decades would elapse before a fresh attainment of technical skill would enable new experts to do what many apprentices now easily accomplish?

The point of this argument is that Asiatic acquisition of occidental civilization is no such easy or speedy matter as the Yellow Peril illusion assumes. So much of our civilization as they do acquire will constitute no serious menace to Christendom.

The Yellow Peril illusion assumes that the white man's supremacy arose from and can be maintained by war. One aspect of this error has already been

discussed. In the final analysis, it is the white man's inventive brain and his moral and social capacity to use his inventions that have given him in the past, and will continue to give him in the future, world-wide leadership. The essential characteristic of his civilization is not its material and mechanical aspects, though these are the most conspicuous, but rather its social and spiritual elements. Now, his inventive brain has been as active in the latter realm as in the former. His modern social machinery is by far the more important in assuring his continued leadership, and it is also the more difficult of acquisition by other races.

But another aspect needs attention. The white man is a wonderful traveller, colonizer, producer, inventor, and trader. He has gotten into wars with alien races through his proclivities in one or more of these lines; he has been able to conquer in war because he has invented the best fighting machinery. But he maintains his leadership through his relative industrial and economic efficiency. Warfare has been and still is only a minor element in the white man's world-wide success.

The final contest between the races will be economic and industrial. The more the white man expends on armaments and like unproductive enterprises, to the neglect of other elements of his development, the more will he cripple himself. If each country of Christendom should abandon its army and

navy and for thirty years devote to the economic and industrial education of its people what it now expends of money and brains for military purposes, the development and prosperity of Christendom would advance by leaps and bounds and render absurd all fear of ruinous Asiatic competition.

The final test, then, of the supremacy of a people lies in other realms than those of battle. Germany is prosperous in spite of her armaments. Turkey has collapsed because she depended on them alone.

With regard, also, to economic competition the Yellow Peril agitation is fallacious. It asserts that on account of the cheapness of labor in Asia it will not be long before she will produce all our manufactured goods at far less cost than we can ourselves, and that, therefore, while we and all Europe will purchase from her, we shall have nothing to sell her. Our working classes will thus be thrown out of employment and our industries will be completely ruined.

This argument, however, rests on serious economic fallacies. Asia may indeed in time be able to produce even large varieties of manufactured goods more cheaply than we can and we shall, therefore, purchase them from her rather than continue to manufacture them ourselves. No doubt this will produce difficulty and require adjustment. But it is not to be forgotten that we shall never be able to purchase from China at all unless, either directly or indirectly, she

purchases from us. International commerce can go forward only as there is mutual give and take, and in the long run it must be mutually advantageous. China can sell to us only so much as she buys from us—directly or indirectly. In other words, only as we mutually adjust our various industries in ways mutually advantageous can commerce grow; and it cannot grow so as really and finally to injure either us or them. These changes, moreover, will occur slowly—very slowly.

Each part of the world and each section of each country will gradually find its normal place in the economic world-system and be able to do the work and produce the wares best suited to its nature and location and thus contribute its best to the life of the world.

Asiatic industrial competition, therefore, does not mean the ruin of the West; it means rather, on the whole, its more profitable occupation. Of course periods of adjustment in industrial relations are periods of turmoil, of storm and stress, and many individuals suffer, especially among workers. The introduction of machinery is a well-known cause of such adjustments and also of such pain and poverty and progress. Think not, however, that in the coming adjustment, the West alone is to suffer. What Japan has endured in adjusting her life and organization to the new world-situation few Occidentals realize, and China is now starting on the same road. The

sooner the West begins to adapt herself to the life of the whole world, and the more gradually that adjustment is made, the less will be the shock of the change and the pain of the process.

Among the illusions regarding Asiatics is that which dogmatically affirms their non-assimilability. This illusion as related to Japanese has been so fully considered in the earlier chapters of this work that its brief mention here will suffice. It assigns to Asiatic nature a texture and a character which do not correspond to the objective world. It, of course, professes to rest on experience. But the experience to which it appeals is an experience with groups of Chinese and Japanese whose presence among us is resented; the treatment accorded them has been exactly of the kind to prevent their assimilation. Under like conditions Europeans would be equally unassimilable.

Admiral Mahan cites in support of his view the Austrian Empire, the French Canadians, and South African Boers. He forgets, however, that in each of these cases, as in nearly every ancient land, the political arrangements provided for the rule of one race over others, which gave scope thus for antagonistic race ambitions and involved resentments and indignation. Such conditions, however, are just the ones to prevent assimilation. Should equality of educational and political opportunity be given to every individual, entirely upon personal qualification regard-

less of race, and should the use of a common language be secured in the countries cited, even yet social assimilation would in time be secured. Should Asiatics be allowed to enter America in considerable numbers and then forced by differential legislation or social ostracism to live in communities where they would maintain their own languages and race feeling; and should they also by exclusion from the franchise be in political subjection, becoming helpless objects of small politicians, the evils Admiral Mahan anticipates would doubtless arise. But if the conditions of admission and of life here should be those suggested in the last chapter, those evils would not arise. Social assimilation is a matter of social and political conditions, not one of race nature. Thorough-going democracy, consistently carried out, furnishes the very best conditions for the assimilation of races.

The doctrine of Asiatic non-assimilability, therefore, is one of the illusions which helps to prevent their assimilation and interferes, accordingly, with the right relations and mutual approach of the white and yellow races.

The assertion that the union of the four great gun-producing and machine-making nations would automatically secure universal peace and a reduction of armaments and military expenditures is not self-evident. If, as is vehemently asserted, Asia will be able to produce and support more ships by far and more soldiers by the million than united Europe, it



Japanese children in a Methodist kindergarten in San Francisco. Most of these children were born in America. The teacher, though somewhat Japanese in appearance, is American.

is not clear how the four-nation alliance would attain its end.

On the contrary, is it not clear that an occidental Pan-Aryan Alliance is exactly the kind of programme that will call into actual existence an oriental Pan-Aryan Alliance headed by Japan, as proposed by Mr. Dharmapala? Only the fear in Asia of an impending attack from some great foe, able to crush each Asiatic nation separately and intending to do so, can possibly force the many opposing Asiatic peoples into an effective union. An actual occidental Pan-Aryan Alliance would give strong ground in Asia for such a fear and for a corresponding oriental Alliance.

Moreover, were the occidental Pan-Aryan Alliance actually to come into being, it would, of course, seek to justify its existence. What more likely than that it would, by way of precautions for peace, insist that Asiatics should not have large armaments and should not raise and drill large armies? In a word, the Occident would undertake to control by force the development of the Orient.

But it would surely thereby produce an intensity of interracial antipathy, the only conceivable result of which would be the very thing it was intended to prevent—interracial war.

A Pan-Aryan Alliance, therefore, whether occidental or oriental, whose object was race supremacy, would provoke both ill will and fear, and

would tend to universal war rather than to universal peace.

The argument advanced by Representatives Johnson and Smith in favor of the proposed "quadrilateral" alliance is specious but thoroughly fallacious. They say that, historically speaking, the areas of peace have come into being and exist to-day through the development of single powerful executives, able to quell all prospective local resistance within their respective areas. Is this true? Is peace in America, for instance, finally due to the powerful American army? Is peace not due rather to the consent of the ruled to the methods, principles, and spirit of the government? Is this not also true of every nation where peace prevails?

But in another respect also is the argument fallacious. If the four great nations of Christendom unite—so the argument runs—they will be able to enforce peace throughout the world. Here is a clear non sequitur. The argument promised peace *within the territory* of the single central executive; this assertion promises peace also without that territory! The argument did not prepare us for this conclusion. The "quadrilateral" alliance then is to absorb each nation that begins war and bring it within the area where peace is enforced!

To prevent war, then, between yellows and whites the alliance will have to absorb all Asia, bringing it thus within the "peace area." Only so would the

proposition be effective. Now is it conceivable that with such a programme, the armament of the occidental Pan-Aryan Alliance will grow less, as the sanguine promoters of the plan assert? Will not the reverse be the case?

Do not Asiatics also harbor illusions concerning the White Peril? Beyond question. They doubtless regard it as increasing. They see exclusion walls rising around them and increasing antagonism developing in all white lands. They keenly realize, moreover, how pitiable is their own plight and how helpless they are in the face of the amazing growth of the white man's power and civilization. In all this they naturally see the White Peril increasing.

Important forces, however, are working on the other side, which Asiatics cannot easily see. The White Peril has, as a matter of fact, passed its maximum virulence. Not only has the new world-situation arisen, which tends powerfully to curb territorial and inhuman aggression, but within Christendom itself commercial and spiritual forces are at work that promise much for the future.

The spirit of justice toward weaker peoples has gradually been growing. It has already restrained in important ways the white man's treatment of natives in the lands to which he has gone. While America has been far from guiltless, yet, all in all, her treatment of Indians, Negroes, Hawaiians, and Filipinos constitutes a bright page in the history of

nations. British rule, likewise, though by no means free from crime—and many a crime has been serious, indeed—yet, on the whole, has much to its credit. And British methods are increasingly considerate of the rights and advantages of native races. India and Egypt she may cite with just pride. Such wanton and murderous aggression for greed of gold as befell Mexico and Peru at the hands of white men would not be tolerated by the modern public opinion of Christendom. Belgian atrocities in the Congo and similar deeds by British rubber companies in South America have aroused the conscience of Christendom. Such things can no longer be done openly.

International commerce is leading the nations and races into better political relations. White men are learning that legitimate trade brings more gold than marauding expeditions. Commerce demands both steady political conditions and a people relatively developed in civilization. Efforts for the moral, social, educational, and political development of even savages are found to be the best way to make them industrially and commercially profitable. White governments, accordingly, are devoting their thought to these matters, diminishing thus the evils of their occupancy. Not only America and England but even Germany and France are beginning to realize these principles.

In times of calamity the essential good-will of

Christendom has been repeatedly shown in recent decades by contributions of money and other help given to China and India and Turkey. Such deeds—unknown between nations in any previous age—show that we are advancing, that white inhumanity is decreasing.

The modern peace movement proclaims the same message. This looks primarily, of course, to peace between the nations of Europe. But acquaintance with the literature of the movement shows that universal justice and good-will are insistently proclaimed and that the rights of weaker nations and peoples are provided for. Advocates of peace are not seeking race supremacy, but interracial and international justice and amity. The whole movement powerfully restrains race aggression and thus diminishes the White Peril. Mr. Carnegie's peace foundation endowment of ten million dollars is the largest single gift for this cause, but immense sums are annually expended and many men of international reputation are devoting time and thought for the promotion of this movement.

The foreign-missionary enterprise of Christendom is doubtless the most significant single movement of interracial good-will. Ignorant and unfriendly eyes may regard the movement as one of proselyting ambition, sectarian pride, and religious fanaticism. From the standpoint of non-Christian faiths, the Christian propaganda may, indeed, be regarded as

one powerful factor in the White Peril. It is, nevertheless, an expression of interracial good-will on the part of white nations. It seeks from motives wholly disinterested to give to other races the best elements of the civilization of Christendom. The missionary is a strong force counteracting the political and commercial White Peril in every part of the earth. In every land the missionary has been the friend of the colored man, protecting him from the greed and aggression of white traders and rulers.

The strength of this movement may be estimated from the fact that the number of Protestant missionaries is over sixteen thousand and the gifts for the cause amounted, in 1913, to about twenty-five million dollars. This goes to the colored races.

The missionary movement, moreover, interprets to white men in their homelands the better side of the tribes and peoples to whom the missionaries go and serves thereby as an invaluable link of sympathetic understanding. The missionary movement is the great race-interpreting and race-reconciling force of modern times.

But the White Peril is on the wane for another reason. The Asiatic—especially the Japanese—has learned, as already stated, that the white man is not a mere peril to be shunned but also a possible teacher. Acquisition of that which the white man knows and adoption of elements of his civilization bring many advantages. Life is enriched. New

vistas of growth are gained. The feared White Peril is thus overcome and from the heart of the peril rich fruit is gathered. Japan has learned this lesson well. China is starting on the same road.

Many considerations thus show that the White Peril is actually passing. Asiatics who think otherwise not only are under an illusion, but because of the illusion they help to prolong the evil. Scorn for the white man and refusal to learn of him prevent mutual acquaintance and adjustment. These constitute, however, the secret of the transformation of both White and Yellow Perils into possibilities of great gain.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REAL YELLOW PERIL

Is there, then, *no* Yellow Peril? If the argument of preceding chapters is valid, does it make any important difference how we treat Asiatics within our borders or whether we build high walls of exclusion?

Most assuredly there is peril in the contact of East and West. It makes a vast difference both to us and to them what our attitude and treatment are. The loss to California and to the entire United States through radical anti-Asiatic policy will be none the less real though it may not take the forms anticipated by hysterical publicists and politicians.

Ill will, scorn, injustice, brutality are of themselves serious evils. The entire manhood of those possessed by such a spirit is degraded. Now, a radical Asiatic exclusion policy will not only maintain this spirit but promote it on both sides of the Pacific, for it will keep the races apart and prevent mutual acquaintance and adjustment.

A recent number of the *Vancouver Saturday Sunset* voices the antipathy of many toward Asiatics and well illustrates the evil referred to. *The Aryan*, it seems, is a monthly published in Vancouver. An

editorial in *The Sunset* contained the following sentences, in which the writer effectually discloses his own character: "*The Aryan's* back cover is covered with brotherhood of man philosophy in large type; 'God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth' and several others like that. That is all very well, but we don't want brown men for brothers. . . . We don't care whether the Hindu was born under the flag or not. If he could peroxide himself white it would not make any difference. He would still be an Oriental—smooth, insinuating, sinuous, saponaceous, unctuous, and several other things expressed by adjectives more picturesque and easier to pronounce. The Oriental does not rhyme with the white man at all and cannot keep step. It is meddling with nature's arrangements . . . to let the Hindus get their feet in here."

To this the editor of *The Aryan* replied: "We are sure the Hindus in, as well as outside of, India will find these courteous lines, expressed as they are in the vigorous style of the last and best West, grateful and comforting." Surely the promotion of the spirit displayed by *The Sunset* is highly deplorable. It is due, however, to ignorance, maladjustment, and misunderstandings. This is one aspect of the real Yellow Peril.

The steady maintenance of a violent anti-Asiatic spirit in all white lands cannot fail to develop a corresponding spirit in all Asia. East and West will

thus be consciously set more and more against each other. In consequence each side will be in constant fear of the other, suspecting ill will, intrigue, and sudden armed invasion. Each side will regard as necessary the maintenance of large defensive forces. Each increase of armament on either side will demand corresponding increase on the other. The wealth of both civilizations—East and West—will be squandered on ever-expanding armaments, to the incalculable yet needless loss in the economic development and general prosperity of both civilizations.

Moreover, with increasing hatred and suspicion, combined with a sense of safety because of preparedness for war, occasional outbursts of ill will would be altogether likely. Race mobs might easily sweep out of existence small groups of obnoxious aliens within their reach. Asiatic resentment against whites might easily result in Boxer-like uprisings, and, because of ability to meet the white man with his own weapons and skill, a punitive expedition of the "five powers" would be impossible.

Outrageous white retaliation on Asiatics within their clutches would be by no means impossible; for the spirit and crimes of which white mobs are capable even now may be seen in their lawless treatment of Negroes. Should the spirit of mutual retaliation get started, who could foretell the end? Invasion of Asia by Europe and complete victory would be impossible, as we have seen, and, equally impossible,

invasion of Europe and America by Asia; for each invading force would be compelled to rest on its own home base. Yet struggles on sea and land along frontiers would be possible and well-nigh inevitable. How such a situation could end it is hard to conceive; for mutual ignorance and fear would ever produce suspicion and enmity, and these in turn would lead to more ignorance and fear.

The growing fear of Yellow and White Perils on each side would necessitate, moreover, the withdrawal of vast numbers of able-bodied men from productive enterprises—a well-nigh incalculable economic loss. Conscription would become as needful in America as it now is in Europe and Japan. This would be due, however, to the Yellow and White Peril illusions rather than to the actual perils of invasion.

A state of belligerency between East and West would not promote commerce, which, in times of war, would absolutely cease. The importance, however, of commerce to the welfare of nations is beyond question. The larger it is the cheaper the costs and the larger the profits both to the producing and the consuming people. Whatever interferes with trade means loss.

This loss, moreover, falls not only on capitalists but even more heavily on laborers. They accordingly should be directly and profoundly interested in maintaining good-will between East and West and in promoting international commerce. German,

French, and English laborers and socialists have already begun to exert powerful peace influences between these nations.

Hostility, fear, and suspicion, therefore, between East and West would prevent large and profitable commerce between the two great streams of civilization and constitute another aspect of the real Yellow Peril.

The principles of American democracy are not in harmony with the creation or maintenance of a large standing army. Should this be thought necessary through fear of a yellow invasion, the very structure of our republic would be threatened. The republic of Rome was overthrown by ambitious men in control of armies for foreign conquest. Would it be possible for ambitious American generals, in command of millions of troops, to accept control from a civilian President? Armies want to do that for which they exist.

And at the periodic presidential elections, would not favorite generals become powerful candidates? In case of electoral defeat, might not the army, whose fundamental postulate is force, refuse to submit to the ballot and appeal to the bayonet?

The Yellow Peril illusion necessitating large armaments thus carries implicit within it real dangers to the very structure of our boasted democracy.

The East needs the West, and the West needs the East. These complementary civilizations have much

to give, each to the other. The gains acquired by long ages of isolated and divergent evolution should now be exchanged to mutual advantage. Such exchange, however, can take place only in an atmosphere of mutual good-will and of readiness to learn. An attitude of mutual scorn absolutely prevents the insight essential to appreciation and acquisition. The best things in each civilization which the other needs are not material or physical; these it were easy to exchange even when the spirit is hateful. The best elements lie in the realm of the spirit—in art and literature, in philosophy, morals, and religion. Appreciation here demands time and quietness of spirit, openness of heart, and mutual good-will. The best gifts of head and heart cannot be given nor acquired where mutual sympathy, respect, and good-will are lacking.

Those who despise the Oriental and his civilization may rub their eyes in astonishment at the repeated assertions of this book that the West has anything to learn of the East. Such, nevertheless, is the fact; and the policy which promotes ignorance and antipathy surely entails serious loss to both sides.

Multitudes of travellers return from the Orient profoundly impressed with the quality of its civilization. Occidentals, as a rule, are entirely ignorant of the inner life of Asia, of its history, of the culture of its masses, and the high ideals and attainments of its leaders. The growing admiration of Occi-

dentals, especially for China and the Chinese, is an impressive sign of the times.

Asia-phobiacs should ask whether, after all, their attitude is not the result of ignorance. Are they not doing Asiatics injustice and also incurring loss themselves?

The Yellow Peril illusion is, indeed, an illusion; as an illusion, nevertheless, it is a tremendous fact and itself constitutes the main part of the Yellow Peril, for it induces conduct in both West and East which can only bring harm.

The vital factors are now before us, alike of the special conditions in California and of the world-situation. Analysis must cease and construction begin. The world needs a comprehensive oriental policy, free from illusions and from selfishness, which, while it conserves the real interests of the white race, provides also for the real interests of Asia. Such political and social relations should be established that mutual good-will can be maintained, commerce steadily increased, and mutual exchange of the best elements in both civilizations go forward.

CHAPTER XVII

OUTLINES OF A NEW AMERICAN ORIENTAL POLICY

THE present oriental policy of the United States as a whole is, in important respects, humiliating to the Oriental and disgraceful to us. Professing friendship in words, we deny it in important deeds. Demanding an open door for Americans in Asia and equality of opportunity for our citizens with that accorded to citizens of the "most favored nation," we do not ourselves grant these same things to Asiatics in our land.

This disgraceful, humiliating, and inconsistent policy, for which some extenuating explanations may doubtless be made, has grown up through a series of exigencies. The time, however, has come for clear recognition of the radical defects of our present policy and for the formulation of one more in harmony with our national ideals and more suited to the new era of cosmopolitan life on which the world is rapidly entering. The opportunity opening before us at this unique juncture in the history of human evolution is unparalleled. Much depends, however, just now on the oriental policy of America. If it is

truly friendly to Asia, the White Peril dreaded by Asia and the Yellow Peril dreaded by Europe and America will both be converted into golden opportunities for mutual profit.

Of even more importance than the details of the new oriental policy are the spirit and the principles that underlie them. These I venture to state in the following paragraphs.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The new American oriental policy must consciously abandon the assumption, so tenaciously held during recent centuries, and even still unconsciously held by many, that the white race is inherently superior to all others and has, therefore, a kind of divine right to rule the world, to own for selfish aggrandizement whatever territories it can seize, and to exploit the native populations without regard to their welfare. America must insist on the abandonment of all predatory ambitions on the part of its citizens in foreign lands. She must stand for equality of rights and privileges of every race. No race or people may be the objects of plunder or exploitation by whites merely because the latter possess superior brute power. This is, indeed, no new principle in America's foreign policy, but it needs to be emphasized and consistently carried out. We should grant to Asiatics in this land the same privileges which we demand for Americans in Asia and

which we grant to citizens of the "most favored nations" residing among us.

This policy must recognize that there is a new Orient, a rising self-consciousness in the vast populations of Asia which must be won to friendship; that the new Asia can no longer be treated as the old Asia was during the nineteenth century. This means that we must inaugurate a policy of courtesy in all our relations with Asiatics—when they enter our ports, live in our land, come before our courts, or deal with us in treaties, and are the objects of proposed legislation whether local or national. We must deal with Orientals as we deal with members of other nations. Our international policy must be universal and free from all race discrimination.

The new policy should sympathize with the difficulties and problems confronting oriental peoples, economic, political, social, and educational. Americans should regard themselves as their friends and brothers, to aid them in the arduous road on which they have started, protecting them from the avaricious and grasping policies of governments and nations whose aim is exploitation of foreign lands.

The new policy must also conserve our distinctively American institutions. The true and highest welfare of the population and races now here must be provided for. That welfare, however, must be regarded from a comprehensive standpoint. It must provide for the coming from other lands and races and perma-

ment residence here of only those individuals who can and will become full American citizens, sharing in the national life in all its aspects, political, economic, industrial, moral, and religious.

The new policy must take full cognizance of the actual situation in California, both as regards the work and character of the various Asiatic peoples now there, and also as regards the psychological state of the Californians. It must not run counter to the mature, sober judgment of the responsible citizens of California; but neither must it regard ignorant and partisan views as the views of sane and intelligent judgment.

The new policy must cut loose from discredited or doubtful theories of race psychology and sociology, and must build on the assured results of our best modern knowledge.

OUTLINES OF THE NEW POLICY

A new general immigration law is needed, which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment, even as regards immigration. The danger of an overwhelming oriental immigration can be obviated by a general law allowing a maximum annual immigration from any land of a certain fixed percentage of those from that land already here and naturalized. The valid principle on which such a law would rest is the fact that newcomers from any land enter and become

assimilated to our life chiefly through the agency of those from that land already here. These know the languages, customs, and ideals of both nations. Consequently, the larger the number already assimilated, the larger the number of those who can be wisely admitted year by year. The same percentage rate would permit of great differences in actual numbers from different lands.

By way of illustrating this suggestion, consider the following outline of a general immigration law:

The maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any nation, race, or group having a single "mother tongue" shall be:

Five per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens, including their American-born children.

In addition to these there shall also be admitted, from any land, all who are returning to America, having at some previous time had a residence here of not less than three years.

All immediate dependent relatives of those who have had a residence here of not less than three years.

All who have had an education in their own land equivalent to the American high school, with not less than three years' study of some foreign tongue.

In the application of these provisions, individuals who come as *bona-fide* travellers, government officials, students—in a word, all who are provided for by funds from their native land—should not be

counted as immigrants; but all merchants, professionals, students, and all others, even though not technically laborers, who yet depend on their own efforts in this land for a living should be so reckoned.

Exactly how the suggested percentage rate would work, only a careful statistical examination would show.

The census for 1910 does not distinguish between resident and naturalized foreigners. The writer has, accordingly, attempted to supply a rough estimate for a few countries. Starting with the immigration for the past decade, he has assumed arbitrarily (yet basing his assumption on certain statements given in the census for 1910) that the number of aliens who have either died or returned to their native lands is twenty per cent of the total arrivals. He has also assumed, arbitrarily, that of the remainder sixty per cent are still aliens, *i. e.*, that forty per cent have become naturalized. Applying, then, the percentage scale, he has computed the maximum possible annual immigration. His results are given in the accompanying table.

For instance, columns 1-3 are taken bodily from the census. Column 4 is taken from the latest report on immigration. Column 5 is twenty per cent of column 4. Column 6 is sixty per cent of the difference between columns 4 and 5. Column 7 is the difference between columns 3 and 6. Column 8 is five per cent of column 7, which gives the maximum

number of possible annual immigrants. For convenience of comparison with the actual immigration, column 9 is added. If these assumptions are re-

COUNTRY	FOREIGN BORN 1	AMERICAN-BORN CHILDREN, ONE OR BOTH PARENTS FOREIGN 2	TOTAL FOREIGN WHITE STOCK 3
Germany.....	2,500,000	5,780,000	8,280,000
Great Britain.....	2,570,000	5,160,000	7,730,000
Scandinavia.....	960,000	1,490,000	2,450,000
Russia.....	1,730,000	1,020,000	2,750,000
Italy.....	1,340,000	750,000	2,090,000
Austria.....	1,670,000	1,030,000	2,700,000
China.....	58,000	14,775	.....
Japan.....	67,000	4,410	.....
COUNTRY	IMMIGRATION PAST DECADE 4	ESTIMATED DEATHS AND DEPARTURES 5	ESTIMATED RESIDENT ALIENS 6
Germany.....	350,000	70,000	168,000
Great Britain.....	958,000	191,000	459,000
Scandinavia.....	491,000	98,000	235,000
Russia.....	1,725,000	345,000	822,000
Italy.....	2,071,000	414,000	993,000
Austria.....	2,097,000	419,000	1,006,000
China.....	.....	.....	56,000
Japan.....	.....	.....	67,000
COUNTRY	ESTIMATED CITIZENS AND CHILDREN 7	POSSIBLE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION 8	ACTUAL IMMIGRATION, 1912 9
Germany.....	8,112,000	405,600	27,788
Great Britain.....	7,270,000	363,500	82,979
Scandinavia.....	2,215,000	110,750	27,550
Russia.....	1,928,000	96,400	162,395
Italy.....	1,097,000	54,850	157,134
Austria.....	1,694,000	84,700	178,882
China.....	14,775	738	.....
Japan.....	4,410	220	.....

garded as fairly plausible and the calculations have been correct, we reach the result that the proposed five per cent rate would allow all probable immigration from Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia, while it would put a check on Russian, Austrian, and Italian immigration.

The immigration law suggested above would make it impossible for a new country like Patagonia or Tibet to get started—for it would have no naturalized citizens here from whom the five per cent rate could be estimated. To make immigration possible for new countries it might be desirable to set an arbitrary limit—say of five hundred or possibly one thousand immigrants per annum as a maximum for any country having less than twenty thousand naturalized citizens in America.

Since preparing the present chapter, the writer's attention has been called to the proposal of Senator Dillingham, made in June, 1913, that annual immigration be allowed from any country up to ten per cent of those from that land already here, yet allowing a minimum of five thousand to come from any land, however few may be their representatives in this country. The similarity of the writer's thought with that of the senator's is apparent. Senator Dillingham proposes, however, to leave Asiatic exclusion laws as they stand, making no effort to solve the difficult and highly important Asiatic problem.

The writer is not particularly concerned with defending the five per cent rate here suggested. He merely uses it by way of illustration. Those better acquainted with the facts of immigration and the speed of social assimilation must determine just what percentage would be wise. The present contention centres on the point that whatever the wise rate may be it should be applied equally to all races. This principle alone avoids the difficulty of invidious race discrimination.

Bureaus of alien registration and education are needed for the supervision of the education of all aliens. The working classes of Europe and Japan are accustomed to registration and to constant police supervision. This serves as a restraint to crime. The instant removal of this restraint on arrival in this land is far from wholesome. Every alien, moreover, permanently residing in this country should be making steady preparation for citizenship, that is, for ability to live here intelligently and profitably both to himself and to us. All aliens should be required to register and to keep registered, paying a substantial annual fee of, say, ten dollars, until naturalized. They should keep the bureau informed of changes of residence. Failure to pay the annual fee or to keep registered should be punishable by fines, and, if persisted in, should be a cause for deportation. All unregistered aliens should be liable to deportation.

Graded courses of study in American history, civics, and English should be prepared and opportunity given for annual examinations under federal supervision—free of charge. The annual registration fee might be diminished with each examination passed. Certificates of graduation should be essential for naturalization. Federal aid might be given to institutions providing facilities for alien education; night-schools might be opened in public-school buildings. All institutions such as Y. M. C. A.'s or churches providing systematic education for aliens along the lines of the federal law might receive subsidies.

Of course, the establishment and development of such an undertaking would entail enormous work, expense, and patience; much common sense would be required to avoid needless red tape; those in charge should ever seek to carry out the spirit. An incidental yet important advantage of this system would be the close knowledge by our authorities of aliens in their first years here and the ability to pick out and deport undesirables such as anarchists, white-slave dealers, or flagrant criminals. No small part of our national difficulty with immigration has been our laissez-faire policy in regard to their education for citizenship. The method of registration would enable the authorities to detect and deport such as may have made their way into America illegitimately. The systematic care and education of all aliens in



1, American. 2, German. 3, Hawaiian. 4, Chinese. 5, Japanese. 6, Korean. 7, Filipino. 8, Portuguese. 9, American-Hawaiian. 10, Chinese-Hawaiian. 11, German-Hawaiian. 12, Irish-Hawaiian. 13, Scotch-Hawaiian. 14, Spanish-Hawaiian. 15, Portuguese-Hawaiian. 16, Norwegian-Hawaiian. 17, Swede-Hawaiian. 18, Chinese-Portuguese. 19, Filipino-Portuguese. 20, Spanish-Portuguese. 21, French. Hawaiian-Portuguese. 22, Irish-Chinese-Hawaiian. 23, South Sea (Nami-German). 24, Porto Rican-German. 25, Mexican-German-Spanish. 26, Japanese-Indian-Spanish.

These twenty-six pupils (out of over one hundred) of Kawaiahaeo Seminary (Honolulu) represent the eight varieties of "pure" and eighteen varieties of "mixed" parentage, who are receiving grammar and high school education in that extraordinary institution. This photograph was taken Christmas day to illustrate the variety, the mixture and the harmony of the races attained in the Hawaiian Islands. The popular Christmas celebrations in Honolulu, year after year, in which all the races take significant part, present one of the most remarkable racial phenomena of modern times.



America is essential to the welfare of the country, of far more practical and also of pressing importance than our splendid educational enterprise in the Philippines.

The bureau of immigration and naturalization might well be divided and the functions of the latter modified and extended. The work and responsibility of granting naturalization to aliens should be taken away from courts, which are not qualified for such a function, and vested in a body specially constituted for that purpose. Every candidate for citizenship should present a certificate of graduation in American history, politics, civics, English, and principles of American civilization. The bureau of naturalization should also make investigation as to the moral fitness of candidates, granting naturalization only to those morally as well as educationally qualified.

A day might be set aside each year, perhaps the Fourth of July, or Washington's birthday, on which to administer with due solemnity the oath of allegiance and to extend official welcome to all new citizens; patriotic banquets and speeches, with appropriate pins, banners, and badges could make the event as important and significant as commencement exercises are in our colleges and universities.¹

¹ Might it not be wise to extend this system of education for citizenship, with examinations, formal administration of the oath of allegiance, and official welcome to *all* native-born Americans who reach the voting age? Surely the responsibilities of citizenship are

A fresh definition of eligibility for American citizenship is needed. American citizenship should be based on individual qualification. Race of itself alone should not be a disqualification for citizenship. Let us raise the standards for citizenship as high as may be needed, but, whatever the standards are, let us apply them impartially; whoever qualifies should be admitted.

Let such special legislation as may be needed to enable Asiatic naturalization be taken promptly by Congress.

The granting of rights of naturalization to all on a personal, not on a racial, basis would go far toward solving the entire problem now pending with Japan. Existing anti-Japanese legislation of California and other States would at once be void. The Japanese nation and government would be intensely gratified, for they would recognize that America as a whole insists on justice and equality of treatment for Japanese in our land.

Japanese individuals who have taken the required courses of education for citizenship and are ready, on the one hand, to renounce openly their allegiance to Japan and, on the other, to take the oath of allegiance to the United States would, without doubt, make as

too great to be intrusted to those who are not qualified, and the mere fact of birth in America, or even of graduation from the grammar-school, is not an adequate guarantee of such qualification. Especially important does this suggestion appear to be in the case of children one or both of whose parents are foreign-born, such as Russians, Italians, Japanese, or Chinese.

loyal Americans as those who come from any other land.

Direct federal responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens is also essential. Aliens are guests of the nation, not of the States; and the nation is responsible to foreign governments for their just treatment. Foreign governments have no relation with the States but only with the Federal Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Federal Government to provide that the treaty rights of aliens are accorded them. It logically follows that legal proceedings involving aliens should be handled exclusively in federal, not in State courts. The nation must provide that treaty and other rights are accorded aliens, regardless of the ignorance or prejudice of unfriendly localities.

It might perhaps be wise by special provision to allow local courts to handle minor matters, such as misdemeanors and transgressions of police regulations and city ordinances. The general principle, however, should be as stated above. To some this suggestion may seem a matter chiefly of theory, yet it is at this moment one of international importance. California and other States hide behind the national flag to protect them in spite of their ill-treatment of the citizens of Japan and China.

In 1864 the Japanese Government failed to compel one of the clans to observe a recently made treaty allowing foreigners certain rights. Thereupon sev-

eral of the powers proceeded directly to the obstreperous clan and taught it a lesson on the importance of national unity and of obedience on the part of each clan to the international arrangements made by the central government.

The United States has for sixty years pledged her friendship and good-will to Japan. In several Pacific coast States legislation has been repeatedly proposed highly insulting and, if passed, seriously injurious to the citizens of Japan. All such local legislation affecting differentially the interests of citizens of other nations should be absolutely impossible.

A national commission on biological and social assimilation is needed. This should be a commission of expert biologists, psychologists, and sociologists of international repute, and should be adequately financed. The results of their study should be embodied in national laws concerning (1) the intermarriage of individuals of different races, (2) the elimination by sterilization of those whose heredity renders procreation a menace to the nation, and (3) wise methods for Americanizing already compacted unassimilated groups of aliens.

There is no more intricate and at the same time important problem confronting our country to-day than that of the intermarriage of the races. We need scientific knowledge in regard to the biological and the sociological consequences. If the crossing of white and Asiatic individuals results in off-

spring biologically or psychically undesirable, this fact should be scientifically established and made known to all our people and also to Asiatics. But if scientific study of the facts does not support that contention, then this should also be clearly established.

We need rational national laws on this subject. It is absurd for California to have laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Mongolians while Colorado does not. It is preposterous to make a crime in California what is perfectly legal in Colorado or Nevada. And the California law is of no practical effect, for that State has to recognize the legitimacy of mixed marriages if performed outside of her own limits. If the California law rests on good scientific grounds, then it should be national; if it does not, then California should have no such law.

Regulation of international news should be an integral part of the new American oriental policy. The "yellow press" is the real Yellow Peril to-day. The publication as news of the suspicions, exaggerations, and even malicious fabrications of irresponsible newsmongers breeds ill will and antagonism between nations. What may be the best legal methods for securing reliable international news is a problem for lawyers to decide. The writer, however, suggests that laws might be passed providing that any paper convicted of being the first to publish, as telegraphic or other news, material which is

either fabricated or grossly or maliciously exaggerated should be required to publish, in equally conspicuous type and place as the original news, the fact of its conviction, the correction, and the name of the responsible individual. Every paper that copied that news should also be required to publish the correction. Some specially appointed officer should have the right to institute proceedings in the proper court. Repeated offences should render the offender liable to fine or imprisonment. In some such way as this all papers would be led to utilize only trustworthy reporters of international news; for no paper would dare repeatedly to proclaim its own villainy or stupidity, or both. What the nations need to-day is absolutely accurate information regarding each other. If this can be secured, if the utilization of the cable and the press by those who wish war or at least war scares can be prevented, a great step will have been taken toward the attainment of international understanding and good-will and thus of universal peace. But whatever the best method for securing it may be, it is clear that the continuous malicious poisoning of the public mind in regard to other lands is one of the great crimes of modern times for the suppression of which a wise national policy should provide.

A department of national benevolence also is needed. In spite of the ridicule which he knows will be hurled at this "visionary" suggestion by "practical"

men, the writer, nevertheless, makes bold to present this item in his vision of the needed new national policy.

This new department might be constituted as a bureau under the Secretary of State. Its work would be to conduct large international benevolent enterprises. Its support might be provided by a law setting aside, say, one per cent of the gross national revenue.

The activities of this department would fall into two sections, that in the United States and that in other lands. That in America would consist of campaigns of education for the promotion of better understanding and higher appreciation of foreign nations. Hundreds of promising American young men and women should be sent to the various lands to master their languages and literatures, who on their return would be able to dispel the ignorance at the bottom of so many of our troubles. They would be fitted to become editors of the foreign news of our great dailies, weeklies, and monthlies and to take important posts in our government at home and abroad.

The work of this department in other countries would be widely varied but always in sympathetic co-operation with the governments of those countries. The chief forms of activity would probably be the contribution of substantial sums for emergency relief and for the establishment of educational and



philanthropic institutions. Scholarships might well be provided to bring to this land considerable numbers of qualified students, who on returning to their homelands would serve not only as competent interpreters of America to their people but also as powerful agents for carrying into every land our ideals and practices.

Backward nations should be aided in opening new industries and in developing natural sources of wealth. Whatever would give real and lasting help to other peoples might be done. In times of flood or earthquake, drought or fire, prompt aid could be given—feeding the hungry; rebuilding dikes; dredging rivers; re-establishing institutions. In times of plague or epidemic, physicians and nurses could be supplied. In a word, the work of the Red Cross Society abroad would be taken up as a regular part of the nation's duty, and vastly extended. The department splendidly financed should be splendidly managed by the best brains the nation could command.

Such a policy, carried out for a score of years, would transform the spirit of the nations. It would, first of all, change our own attitude toward other nations, because it would give us real and sympathetic knowledge. It would evoke profound gratitude among the nations struggling with the problems of poverty, disease, and ignorance. Incidentally, I doubt not, it would mightily promote the permanent prosperity of our own land. Were America to devote

as large a sum to a department of peace and benevolence as it now expends on its army and navy, how long would the latter be needed? Since the Spanish War the United States is said to have spent on war preparations \$3,000,000,000.

No other country in the world can so well undertake such a policy. Is not vast national wealth a divine international trust? The white races have taken possession of the great unoccupied natural resources of the world. Should not that wealth be used for the benefit also of nations less favored?

"The quality of Mercy is not strained.

It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven,
Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest."

These fundamental principles of human life are as true of nations as of individuals. Should not our nation inaugurate a policy of national benevolence commensurate with its other activities? Is not the truly great nation, no less than the truly great man, the one that gives liberally not only of its wealth but of its thought and time and effort for the welfare of others?

Is this suggestion so absolutely foolish and impossible as Mr. Worldly Wiseman asserts?

Systematic education of public-school children in oriental history is another item in the writer's vision of the new American oriental policy. Indeed, for

the general elimination of race prejudice education is needed in regard to the histories of all the peoples from whom immigrants come to our shores. Anthropological readers should be prepared, devoting one or more chapters to each race and people of whom representatives live in our land, written from an appreciative standpoint and setting forth the noble deeds of each; they should be well illustrated with fine engravings of the best representatives, dressed in modern European clothing, in order to avoid those caricatures which are so common in pictures of strange peoples. Such readers would help the young to get over their spontaneous feelings of race antipathy.

The splendid deeds of heroism done by Jew and Spaniard, Italian and Hungarian, French, German and English, Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoo should all be set forth with appreciation. Japan and China and India have had their illustrious histories no less than England, Germany, and France. Should not the outstanding characters and achievements of these lands be taught to our young? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and many English and European heroes of progress and high ideals are known, not only by name but also for what they did, to all in Japan who have had a secondary education and to all the higher classes in primary schools. How many in our land, even college graduates, could tell anything whatever

of Shotoku Taishi, Kusunoki Masashige, Nichiren, Shonen, and other great leaders in Japan? It is high time that the study of oriental peoples and histories should be introduced into our public schools. It would help greatly toward race reconciliation, even as kindly and truthful histories of the Civil War have done much to reconcile North and South.

Summing up now the various items in the proposed new American oriental policy, the writer urges:

American citizenship should be granted to every qualified individual regardless of race.

Immigration from any land should be allowed on a percentage rate of those from the same land who are already naturalized including their American-born children.

There should be a bureau of alien registration and education.

The granting of naturalization should be vested in a bureau of naturalization.

There should be direct federal responsibility for all legal and legislative matters in which aliens as such are involved.

A national commission should be appointed to study and report on the problems of biological and sociological assimilation.

Some method should be provided for making international news reliable.

A department of national benevolence should be established as an integral part of our government.

Children and young people in public schools should be educated in oriental history.

Such are the outlines of a comprehensive policy for the treatment of all races and nations and the care of all resident aliens in our land. To some it may perhaps seem a misnomer to call this plan an oriental policy, for it advocates nothing distinctive regarding Orientals. True; and this exactly is the reason for calling it our *new* oriental policy; it is a policy which does not discriminate against Asiatics and, therefore, is new. It is new both as to its spirit and as to its concrete elements.

The early adoption of some such policy as this is important. Unless something is done promptly there is every reason to anticipate further aggressive anti-Japanese legislation in California when the next session of its legislature meets (1915). Further discriminative legislation, however, would still further alienate the friendly feeling of Japan and render still more complicated and difficult of solution the international situation. The early adoption of the main features of this policy would assure California, on the one hand, that no swamping Asiatic immigration is to be allowed, thus securing what she demands. It would also satisfy and even please Japan, granting the substance of what she urges. Anti-Japanese

legislation in California would not only be impossible but not desired by any responsible section of that State, and the cause of international friction would be removed.

As regards the Chinese also, the situation would be much improved. The fairness—yes, the generosity—of our policy, adopted by us with no pressure from her side, would serve to strengthen and deepen the spirit of friendship for America and render still more effective American influence in guiding that new republic through the troublous times that are surely ahead.

If America can permanently hold the friendship and trust of Japan and China through just, courteous, and kindly treatment, she will thereby destroy the anticipated anti-white Asiatic solidarity. If America proves to Asia that one white people at least does not despise Asiatics as such nor seek to exploit them, but rather on a basis of mutual respect and justice seeks their real prosperity, they will discover that what they feared as the White Peril is, in fact, an inestimable benefit. And that change of feeling will bring to naught the Yellow Peril now dreaded by the whites.

America's new oriental policy will go far toward instilling new principles into other nations and races and will thus help mightily in the promotion of universal good-will and the permanent peace of the world. These, however, are the essential conditions

under which each race, nation, and even tribe can make its own peculiar contribution to the richer life of the world.

Even from the lower standpoint of commercial and economic interests, the policy of justice toward and friendship with the Orient is beyond question the right one. Armed conflict or even merely sullen hostility mightily hamper trade success. Rapid internal development in China and a rising standard of life among her millions means enormous trade with America—if we are friendly and just. And unselfish friendship and justice on our side will hasten mightily the uplift of China's millions. Our own highest prosperity is inseparable from that of all Asia. So long as friendship is maintained and peace based on just international relations, the military Yellow Peril will be impossible. In proportion as the scale of living among Asia's working millions rises to the level of our own is the danger of an economic Yellow Peril diminished.

Every consideration, therefore, of justice, humanity, and self-interest demands the early adoption of the general principles of this new oriental policy. It conserves all the interests of the East and the West and is in harmony with the new era of universal convergent evolution of mankind.

In his notable address at Mobile (October, 1913), President Wilson well stated the general principles of true international relationships. He was speak-

ing, it is true, with the South American nations in view, but his words are equally true of the world as a whole. As reported by the press, he said:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. You cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality.

"You cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing but it is degrading upon the part of your own actions.

"Human rights, national integrity and opportunity, as against material interests,—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face.

"I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honorable and fruitful use of the territory she has. And she must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity."

These are the principles which should actuate the policy of every nation in Christendom in its relations

to the Orient and indeed to each other. Who can foretell the changes in the attitude of the Orient toward Christendom and in its receptiveness of our ways of life and thought if the national policies of the world should be really controlled by principles of true friendship?

The full programme for universal peace would, of course, demand much more than has been suggested in this work.¹ International justice must be actu-

¹ America, for instance, should heed Great Britain's protests in regard to Panama tolls; Colombia should in some way be given satisfaction; the Alaskan panhandle might well be given to Canada.

Might not the nations of Europe take steps to adjust by arbitration long-disputed territorial boundaries which have been settled by the sword, such as Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, Finland, Poland? Might not Russia be given ice-free ports?

Might not Great Britain adopt the policy of giving India complete autonomy, within the Empire, as soon as she qualifies for effective self-government.

As regards China, might not Germany return Kiao Chao and the wonderful astronomical instruments seized at the time of the relief of Peking? Might not France return Indo-China, England Hong-kong, and Japan Port Arthur? By joint action the nations might return each its own concession in Shanghai as also the surplus Boxer indemnities.

These suggestions do not propose instant action without suitable guarantees or compensations. History has established certain conditions which cannot be treated as though they were not. Yet the sovereignty and dignity of China demand that these conditions shall not permanently remain. China, on her side, must, of course, qualify for the resumption of these rights and responsibilities. Plans honorable and equitable for all the parties concerned can certainly be found when selfish ambitions are abandoned.

It is folly for Occidentals to fancy that China can feel really friendly to Western nations so long as they hold, by military force, strategic places within her boundaries. Foreign troops, foreign domination, and extra-territorial courts administering in China and upon Chinese citizens the laws of Germany, England, France, America, Spain, Portugal, *et al.*, insult her dignity and infringe her sovereignty.

ally attained. Nations must abandon territorial aggression and ambitions injurious to others. They must learn to be impartial. They must gain new conceptions of their rights and responsibilities. For this the efficiency of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague should be developed. Actual deeds also of good-will and even of national self-sacrifice must be practised. This is the only way to allay suspicion and evoke good-will.

"Peace through readiness for war" is fallacious, demanding ever-increasing armaments. "Peace through disarmament" is impossible until international suspicion ceases. The only road to universal peace is the practice of international self-sacrifice.

"But there is neither East nor West,
Boader nor Breed nor Birth
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That Sense and Worth o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, an' a' that!
For a' that, an' a' that,
It's comin yet for a' that,
THAT MAN TO MAN THE WORLD O'ER
SHALL BRITHERS BE FOR A' THAT."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LITERATURE RELATING TO THE PROBLEM OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

CHINESE AND JAPANESE IN AMERICA. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. No. 114, Sept., 1909. 217 pages. The arguments, pro and con, are presented by eleven leaders in Parts 1 and 2. Part 3 discusses National and International Aspects of the Exclusion Movement, and Part 4 the Problem of Oriental Immigration Outside of America. In all, some twenty-three leaders of thought present the various aspects of this immense problem.

AMERICAN JAPANESE RELATIONS (1911).

ASIA AT THE DOOR (1914).

By K. Kawakami. Two large and important volumes. The first deals with the Japanese in Manchuria and Korea in two sections and in the third section presents in considerable detail the condition of the Japanese in California. The second volume discusses at length and with cogency the Japan-American situation. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. By Rev. H. B. Johnson, D.D., Superintendent Japanese Missions on the Pacific Coast. 1907. 133 pages. This pamphlet was prepared shortly after the settlement of the so-called "Japanese School Question." Its purpose is to preserve all significant published utterances for and against the Japanese. The animus of the Asiatic exclusion movement is clearly brought out by copious quotations of their writings. In the

Appendix are President Roosevelt's messages to Congress concerning the Japanese question and Secretary Metcalf's report.

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION, ITS STATUS IN CALIFORNIA. By Yamato Ichihashi, A.M., formerly special agent of the United States Immigration Commission. Published by the Japanese Association of America, 1913. 48 pages. A brief but comprehensive survey of the statistics of Japanese Immigration, Occupations, Economic Status, etc., etc.

THE ORIENTAL IN AMERICA. By Geo. W. Hinman, Pacific District Secretary of the American Missionary Association. Published by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1913. Although this small pamphlet covers only thirty-one pages, it is brimful of facts. It seeks to present the actual situation, socially, morally, and religiously, rather than an argument.

THE PROPOSED LAND BILLS. Prepared and published by the Japanese Association of America, 1913. This pamphlet of twenty pages consists chiefly of newspaper comments and resolutions passed by various important bodies in regard to anti-alien land bills presented in the California legislature.

THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC. An oration by Jinji Kasai, delivered June 3, 1913, in the assembly hall of the University of Chicago, to whom was assigned the first prize of one hundred dollars. In the foreword, President H. P. Judson truly characterizes the oration "as presenting clearly and forcefully the view of an intelligent young man from Japan, educated in the United States, eager for permanent friendship between the two nations, and to that end pleading for justice in the Great Republic." Published by Chicago University Press.

**THE WORLD'S MOST MENACING PROBLEM.
RACE PREJUDICE.
CITIZENSHIP.**

Three brief but highly valuable discussions of the Japanese question by Professor H. H. Guy, for many years a missionary in Japan. Published for distribution by the Japanese Association of America.

OUR NATION'S DUTY TO JAPAN. An address by Rev. D. Scudder, D.D., published in *The Friend of Honolulu*, June, 1913. A trenchant treatment of the Japanese question from the Christian standpoint.

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF JAPANESE AGITATION IN CALIFORNIA.

**THE JAPANESE IN FLORIN.
EDUCATION, NOT LEGISLATION.**

These three brief pamphlets of eight, seven, and twelve pages, by Alice M. Brown, are of special significance, as she speaks with full knowledge in behalf of Japanese and from the standpoint of one who has watched the entire development of Japanese life in Florin, concerning whose "wretched plight" so much is said by those who oppose. Published for distribution by the Japanese Association of America.

A SURVEY OF THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN CALIFORNIA. By Messrs. J. Soyeda and T. Kamiya, special commissioners from Japan for the investigation of the Japanese problem in California. This pamphlet of sixteen pages presents the result of that investigation, prepared on the eve of their return, August 6, 1913. This may be secured from the Japanese Association of America.

No student of America's Oriental problem should fail to familiarize himself with the reports of various regular and

special official investigations, of which the following are the most important:

SENATE DOCUMENT No. 633. Being a report of the Immigration Commission. Part 25. Compiled with special view to impending immigration legislation. Part 25 deals with "Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States."

THE BIENNIAL REPORTS OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE BUREAU OF LABOR.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION.

During the spring and summer of 1913 a number of magazine articles appeared in the weeklies and monthlies. They fall into two groups according as they take positions for or against the Japanese in California. The ten following constitute a fair sample.

I. Anti-Japanese

WHITE AND YELLOW IN CALIFORNIA. W. V. Woehlke, *The Outlook*, May 10.

THE WORLD'S MOST MENACING PROBLEM. Editorial in *Collier's Weekly*, May 31.

JAPAN IN CALIFORNIA. P. C. Macfarlane, *Collier's Weekly*, June 6.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. Chester H. Rowell, *The World's Work*, June.

THE JAPANESE QUESTION FROM A CALIFORNIAN STAND-POINT, Jas. D. Phelan, *The Independent*, June 22.

II. Pro-Japanese

STRAINING AN HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP. Hamilton Holt, *The Independent*, May 1.

HOW CALIFORNIA TREATS JAPANESE. K. Kawakami, *The Independent*, May 8.

INTERRACIAL AMITY IN CALIFORNIA. Neeta Marquis, *The Independent*, July 17.

DANGEROUS FALSEHOODS. Editorial, *The Outlook*, July 26.

AMERICA AND JAPAN. Hamilton Mabie, F. G. Peabody, and J. I. Bryan. Three important articles. *The Outlook*, August 2.

APPENDIX B

A SUMMARY BY LABOR COMMISSIONER J. D. MACKENZIE OF THE REPORT OF THE "SPECIAL STATE INVESTIGATION OF 1909" OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. GIVEN TO THE PRESS MAY 30, 1910

[In 1909 the legislature of California appropriated \$10,000 to provide for a "drastic investigation of the Japanese question. . . . This covered free-hold and lease-hold lands, the estimation of Japanese by their neighbors, their value and need of them as farm laborers, their moral relations to society and the industrial, financial, and social effect of their presence here. This exhaustive inquiry was ordered in the language of the act authorizing it, 'to inform the legislature and the President and Congress.' The investigation was made by the State Labor Commission, and the testimony taken by him, names of witnesses, and all facts went into his report. The result was that this investigation so thoroughly disproved the ground upon which anti-Japanese legislation demanded by the legislators who promote it, that our State Government has suppressed the report and it has never been published." —(Quotation from the letter of the Delta Association of California to Hon. William J. Bryan, April 24, 1913, on the occasion of his visit to California to confer with Governor Johnson and the State legislature in regard to the proposed anti-alien legislation.)]

The investigation of Japanese in agriculture covered visits to 4,102 farms scattered over thirty-six counties and growing

almost every crop common to the State of California. Of this total number of farms visited, 1,733 were operated by Japanese farmers as owners, cash lessees and share lessees. The remaining 2,369 farms were operated by white farmers, being equally distributed between those employing white help exclusively and those employing mixed races, including Japanese. These 4,102 farms contained 697,236 acres and produced crops valued approximately at \$28,000,000 annually. On these farms there were employed during the past year an aggregate of 80,982 persons of all races, 9,452 of whom were women, the length of employment varying from a few days to a year. On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers, employing a total of 63,198 persons, 53.4 per cent of the labor employed was white, 36.4 per cent Japanese, and 10.2 per cent various other races, including Chinese, Mexicans, Hindus, and Indians. On the 1,733 farms operated by Japanese farmers, employing 17,784 persons, 96 per cent of the labor employed was Japanese, while 872, or 4 per cent, was equally divided between male and female white; in other words, on the basis of numbers employed, the Japanese furnished practically 50 per cent, or one half, of the labor necessary to grow and harvest the crop, valued at \$28,000,000, produced on the farms visited in this investigation.

The farms on which Japanese were not employed were, as a rule, much smaller than those on which they were employed, the former averaging 159 acres, the latter 357, demonstrating the necessity of a class of temporary laborers on large acreages.

Another important fact developed by this investigation was the relation between the character of the crop grown and the employment of Japanese. On the farms where whites were employed exclusively, no berries or nursery products were grown and very little vegetables outside of beans.

The relation of the character of the crop to the employment of Japanese is well brought out in the following:

On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers the percentage of labor furnished by Japanese, according to the principal crops grown, was as follows:

Berries.....	87.2 per cent.
Sugar beets.....	66.3 per cent.
Nursery products.....	57.3 per cent.
Grapes.....	51.7 per cent.
Vegetables.	45.7 per cent.
Citrus fruits.....	38.1 per cent.
Hops.....	8.7 per cent.
Deciduous fruits.....	36.5 per cent.
Hay and grain.....	6.6 per cent.
Miscellaneous.....	19.6 per cent.

It was further developed in this investigation that the fruit crops peculiar to California required the labor of a large number of persons for a very short period of time. The average duration of employment on farms visited was less than two months in the year—68.3 per cent of the whites and 61.6 per cent of the Japanese were employed less than three months and only 16.6 per cent of the whites and 10.7 per cent of the Japanese were employed permanently.

The average wage paid by white farmers to white help was \$1.38 per day with board and \$1.80 per day without board and to the Japanese \$1.49 per day with board and \$1.54 per day without board. This, however, cannot be taken as the average earnings of the Japanese, for 49.2 per cent of the entire number employed were working by contract or piece-work, under which condition the earnings of the Japanese are much larger than those of the whites.

The average wages paid to Japanese farm labor by Japanese farmers were \$1.57 per day with board and \$1.65 per day without board, showing that the Japanese were better paid by their own countrymen than by the white farmer; this for two reasons—first, that they are in greater demand by their own countrymen, and, second, that only 12.5 per cent

of the total number employed by Japanese farmers were working by contract or piece-work.

Japanese Farms.—One thousand seven hundred and thirty-three Japanese farms were visited, of which 132, containing 3,876 acres, were operated by Japanese owners; 1,170 farms, containing 46,480 acres, by Japanese cash lessees; and 431 farms, containing 33,028 acres, by Japanese share lessees. These farms produced crops valued at, approximately, over \$6,000,000. The most important crop grown was vegetables, which amounted to approximately \$2,500,000, the next being deciduous fruits, \$1,750,000, and berries, \$730,000.

Landownership by Japanese.—The records of the county assessors on November 1, 1909, show 199 farms, containing 10,791 acres, owned by Japanese in the State of California. These farms were assessed at \$330,401 on land and \$46,927 on improvements, making a total of \$397,298, and were mortgaged to the extent of \$173,584. The records also show 185 holdings of town property assessed at \$174,694, of which \$79,600 was on land and \$85,394 on improvements. These holdings were mortgaged to the extent of \$50,359.

Leasing by Japanese.—A very small percentage of the leases are recorded, only 319 leases, covering 20,294 acres, being found on the books of the county recorders. The actual leaseholdings of the Japanese in the State of California amounted to 55,000 acres on cash leases and 60,000 on share leases. There were also recorded 113 leases on town property. The farms held under cash lease by Japanese average 40 acres, the largest number being from 5 to 20 acres. The leases were principally for short terms, 50.6 per cent being for three years or less. The total rental paid on these leases was, approximately, \$700,000 per annum, the prevailing price being from \$20 to \$30 per acre per annum. The farms held under share leases by the Japanese average 75½ acres, the largest number being from 20 to 75 acres. One half of the leases were drawn for a term of one year or less. On most

of them the Japanese received 50 per cent of the gross proceeds on crops raised.

Japanese in Commercial Pursuits.—That part of the investigation relating to the Japanese in business and activities other than agriculture is practically complete. Two thousand five hundred and forty-eight establishments were visited through the State. One thousand nine hundred and thirty-four were owned by individuals, 550 by partnerships, and 64 by corporations. Nineteen and four-tenths per cent have been in business less than one year, 24.2 per cent for one year, 17.2 per cent for two years, and 15.9 per cent for three years, making a total of 76.7 per cent of the total established since 1906. Only 58 establishments, or 2.3 per cent of the total, have been in existence for ten years or more. The capital invested in most instances was very small, 68.7 per cent of the total having a capital of less than \$1,000. The total aggregate cash invested amounted to over \$4,000,000. The total annual transactions of these Japanese establishments amounted to \$16,114,407, of which \$5,938,012, or 36.8 per cent, was with the white people. The total annual rent paid by these firms was over \$900,000. Six thousand five hundred and fifty-six persons were engaged in the conducting of these establishments, of which number 2,546 males and 562 females (principally wives of owners) were employers and 3,214 males and 234 females employees. In addition there were employed by these Japanese firms 35 male and 20 female white persons. One thousand four hundred and ten, or 55.3 per cent, of the total number of establishments were conducted entirely by the owners. In 1,782 establishments, or 69.9 per cent, the employees lodged at the place of work.

The sanitary condition of the places of work was reported as follows:

Good.....	81.8 per cent.
Fair.....	16.8 per cent.
Bad.....	1.4 per cent.

Sanitary condition of the places of lodging:

Good.....	68.5 per cent.
Fair	27.3 per cent.
Bad.....	4.2 per cent.

One thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, or 61.5 per cent, of the total number of establishments were located in the seven principal cities of the State, as follows:

Los Angeles.....	505
San Francisco.....	497
Oakland.....	178
Sacramento.....	154
Fresno.....	100
San José.....	79
Stockton.....	54

Although San Francisco did not contain the largest number of establishments, 34 per cent of the entire investment was represented there and 40.2 per cent of the total amount of business transacted therein.

The prevailing number of hours worked per day was ten and over, and the prevailing wages paid were from \$25 to \$35 per month with board and \$40 to \$50 without board.

Japanese Population.—The Japanese population of the State of California, based upon the records of the United States Immigration Bureau, the records of the steamship companies entering the port of San Francisco, and the records of this office, was estimated at 41,628 on January 1, 1910. About 10 per cent of this total were females.

In the fifteen months ending January 1, 1910, 836 Japanese entered the port of San Francisco from Japan and Hawaii, and 4,184 departed to Japan and Hawaii, showing a net decrease of 3,348. These figures were obtained from records kept by steamship companies under the direction of this bureau.

In the three years 1906, 1907, and 1908, 810 births and 1,332 deaths of Japanese were recorded in the State of California, showing a large excess of deaths over births.

This investigation shows the distribution of the adult male Japanese population to be as follows:

- 65 per cent were engaged in agricultural pursuits.
- 15 per cent were employed chiefly by white employers and engaged principally in domestic or personal service.
- 15 per cent were either Japanese employers or their employees, engaged principally in supplying the wants of the Japanese population throughout the State.
- 5 per cent were engaged in miscellaneous pursuits, such as officials, professionals, students, etc.

Individual cards were obtained from 18,378 Japanese, or about one half of the total adult Japanese population of this State. Of these, 16,642 were males and 1,736 females. Sixty-eight per cent of the male and 77.5 per cent of the female population were between twenty and thirty-five years of age. Of the males, 62.7 per cent were single and 35.3 per cent married, whereas only 3.7 per cent of the females were single and 94.8 per cent married.

At the time of this investigation 54.4 per cent of the male and 74 per cent of the female Japanese had only been in the United States for five years or less.

Sixty-three and three-tenths per cent of the wives of the married males resided in Japan, while only 36.7 per cent resided in the United States. Of the wives residing in the United States, 61.2 per cent had children and 38.8 per cent were without children.

Sixty-six and two-tenths per cent of the rural Japanese population were agriculturalists before coming to the United States.

Japanese School Children.—There were 818 Japanese children attending the public schools in California in the year 1909. These were distributed as follows:

Kindergarten.....	1 male	5 females
Primary schools.....	269 males	140 “
Grammar schools.....	150 “	31 “
High schools.....	137 “	3 “
Evening schools (mostly adults)	71 “	1 female
Total.....	628 males	180 females

APPENDIX C

TWO CHARTS ILLUSTRATING THE PROPORTION OF WHITE AND JAPANESE FARM LABORERS, ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPAL CROPS, TAKEN FROM THE FOURTEENTH BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATIS- TICS, 1909-10, PAGES 270-279

CHART I

RACE OF FARM LABOR EMPLOYED, ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL CROP GROWN

"In this chart there is presented the percentage of farm labor of different races employed, according to the principal crop grown. These percentages are based on a record of 2,369 farms operated by white farmers. These farms were located in practically all the important agricultural and horticultural sections of the State. They contained 613,852 acres, on which were raised crops to the value of \$23,000,000. On these farms there were employed during the year a total of 63,198 persons. The chart shows at a glance the crops which are dependent upon either white or Japanese labor."

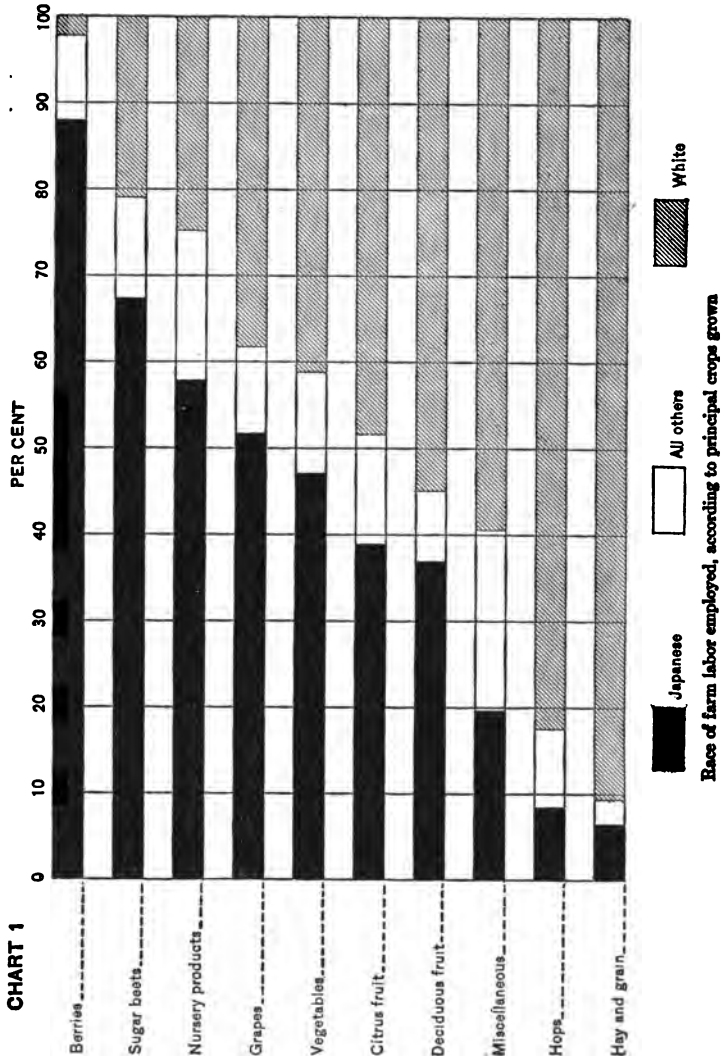
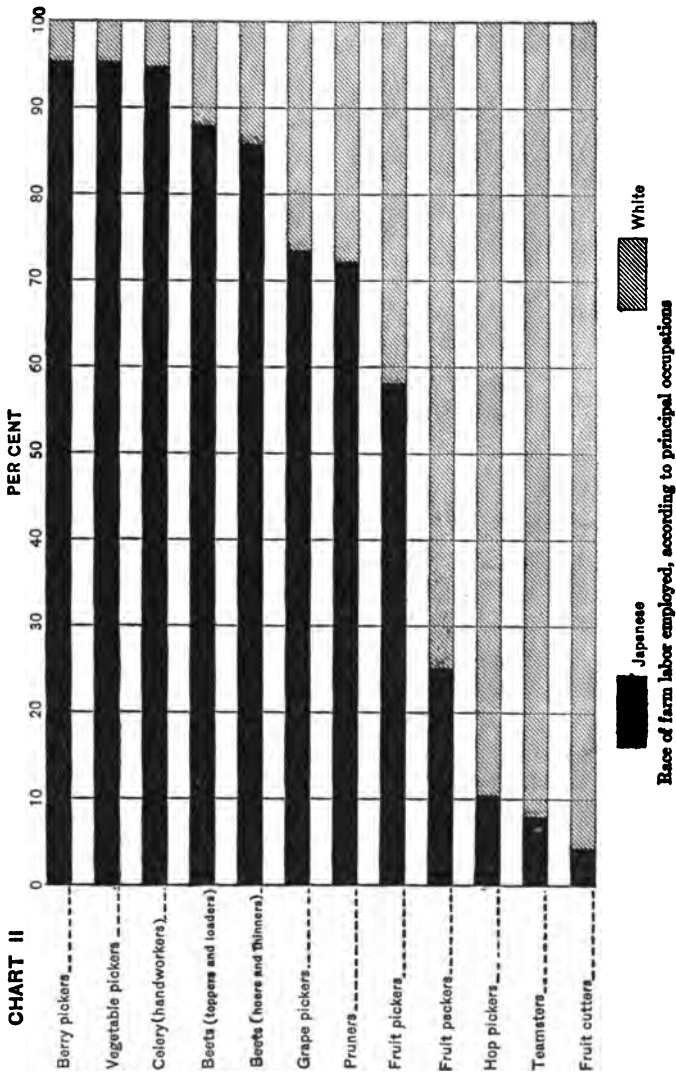


CHART II

RACE OF FARM LABOR EMPLOYED, ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATIONS

"In this chart the percentage of white and Japanese labor is shown according to the various occupations. Reading down the list of occupations, it shows the class of work which the white farm laborer dislikes and which is now performed by the Japanese, while reading up it shows the class of work which is still congenial to the white farm laborer, and in which the Japanese have been unable to gain a foothold. The white fruit-packers and fruit-cutters are practically all female."



APPENDIX D

EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION AND PROTOCOL BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF FEBRUARY 21, 1911

[This treaty consists of eighteen articles, all of which bear on some aspect of commerce and navigation. The essence of the treaty lies in the repeated assertion of reciprocal rights and privileges and treatment on the basis of equality with the "most favored nation." For simplicity and brevity only parts of the treaty are here reproduced.]

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation.

Article I.—The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade, upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native subjects or citizens.

The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native subjects and citizens.

Article IV.—There shall be between the territories of the two high contracting parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, equally with the subjects or citizens of the most favored nation shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports, and rivers in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

Article V.— . . . Neither contracting party shall impose any other or higher duties or charges on the exportation of any article to the territories of the other than are or may be payable on the exportation of the like article to any other foreign country.

Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any article from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country. . . .

Article VIII.— . . . There shall be perfect equality of treatment in regard to exportation. . . .

Article IX.— . . . the intention of the contracting parties being that in these respects the respective vessels shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

Article XI.—No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, quarantine, or other similar duties . . . shall be imposed . . .

which shall not equally under the same conditions be imposed on national vessels in general or on vessels of the most favored nation.

Article XIII.—The coasting trade of the high contracting parties is excepted from the provisions of the present treaty and shall be regulated according to the laws of Japan and the United States respectively. It is, however, understood that the subjects or citizens of either contracting party shall enjoy in this respect most-favored-nation treatment in the territories of the other.

Article XIV.—Except as otherwise expressly provided in this treaty, the high contracting parties agree that in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor, or immunity which either contracting party has actually granted or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other state shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other contracting party . . . on the same or equivalent conditions. . . .

Declaration

In proceeding this day to the signature of the treaty of commerce and navigation, . . . the undersigned has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the laborers to the United States.

(Signed) Y. UCHIDA.

February 21, 1911.

[Being a treaty of commerce and navigation, it contains nothing in regard to immigrants and their property and other rights. Reciprocity is its one recurring emphasis in regard to every item that is taken up. Article I, singularly enough, omits the purchase and ownership of land as one of the rights to be mutually enjoyed in the pursuit of trade.]

APPENDIX E

EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA CONCERNING IMMIGRATION OF NOVEMBER 17, 1880, AND REFERENCES TO THE SUBSEQUENT ACTS OF CONGRESS RELATIVE TO THE SAME

Whereas, . . . the Government of the United States, because of the constantly increasing immigration of Chinese laborers to the territory of the United States, and the embarrassment consequent upon such immigration, now desires to negotiate a modification of the existing treaties which shall not be in direct contravention of their spirit:

Now, therefore . . . the President of the United States . . . and the Emperor of China . . . have agreed upon the following articles in modification.

Article I.— . . . The Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. . . . Immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

Article II.—Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body or household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

Article III.—If Chinese laborers . . . meet with ill treatment at the hands of other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

Congress, on May 6, 1882, authorized the suspension for ten years of Chinese labor immigration. Section 14 of that act provided that no State or Federal court "shall admit Chinese to citizenship" and "all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed."

On September 13, 1888, Congress passed an act restricting the condition under which Chinese laborers already in the United States would be allowed to re-enter after a visit to China.

On May 5, 1892, Congress continued for a second decade the suspension of Chinese labor immigration.

On April 29, 1902, Congress voted that "All laws in force April 29, 1902, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons . . . are hereby reenacted, extended, and continued, without modification, limitation, or condition."

APPENDIX F

CALIFORNIA'S ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

[This law ingeniously utilizes the distinction made by the laws of the United States between aliens eligible for citizenship and those not eligible, and enacts race discriminatory legislation. It also seizes ingeniously on the failure of the landownership; it forbids this right to Japanese and other similarly situated aliens. It makes impossible for Japanese the purchase, ownership, and inheritance not only of agricultural land but of any land whatever, even for business or residential purposes.]

An act relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.

[Approved May 19, 1913.]

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.

SEC. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United

States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 4. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this State which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such real property.

SEC. 5. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section 474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Proce-

dure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

SEC. 6. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section five of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the State shall be paid into the State treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the State to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this State.

SEC. 8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent, or in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

APPENDIX G

LANDOWNERSHIP BY FOREIGNERS IN JAPAN

The following statement of Japanese laws regarding the rights of foreigners in Japan to own and lease land was made by Consul-General Y. Numano and published in *The Sacramento Bee*, April 28, 1913:

To the Editor of The Bee:

Sir: I have your communication of the 23d inst. asking me for a statement of the present laws and practices of Japan relative to the holding or acquisition of land by aliens in that Empire.

In reply thereto, I beg to state that, under date of April 13, 1910, a law was promulgated by the Japanese Parliament, which provided as follows:

Article 1.—Foreigners domiciled or resident in Japan and foreign juridical persons registered therein shall enjoy the right of ownership in land, provided always that in the countries to which they belong such right is extended to Japanese subjects and Japanese juridical persons; and provided, further, in case of foreign juridical persons that they shall obtain permission of the Minister for Home Affairs in acquiring such ownership.

The foregoing provisions shall be applicable only to foreigners and foreign juridical persons belonging to the countries to be designated by Imperial ordinance.

Article 2.—Foreigners and foreign juridical persons shall not be capable of enjoying the right of ownership in land in the following districts: First, Hokkaido; second, Formosa; third, Karafuto; fourth, districts necessary for National defense.

The districts coming under No. 4 of the preceding paragraph shall be designated by Imperial ordinance.

Article 3.—In case a foreigner or a foreign juridical person owning land ceases to be capable of enjoying the right of ownership in land, the ownership of such land shall accrue to the fiscus (the Imperial Treasury), unless he disposes of it within a period of one year.

In case a foreigner, by reason of losing his domicile or residence in Japan, or a foreign juridical person, on account of withdrawing his business establishment or office from Japan, ceases to be capable of enjoying the right of ownership in land, the period mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall be five years.

If any land owned by a foreigner or a foreign juridical person is situated within the district designated under the last paragraph of the preceding article as necessary for national defense, and if, in consequence, the ownership of such land accrues to the fiscus, the damage thereby caused to the former owner shall be compensated.

In case of the failure to arrive at an accord with regard to the amount of compensation mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a suit may be brought before an ordinary Court of Justice.

Article 4.—The date for putting the present law into force shall be determined by Imperial ordinance.

There follow four other articles which I do not quote, because they relate to details not pertinent to the main issue, viz.: The desire of the Japanese Government to put aliens on a par with native subjects in the matter of land-ownership.

You will please notice, from the provisions of Article I, that the extension of the privilege of landownership, to foreigners, in Japan, is conditioned upon the extension of similar rights to the subjects of Japan by the Governments of other countries. In other words, it is designed to be reciprocal in its operation.

You will please note, further, that Article IV provides that the date for putting the law into force shall be determined by Imperial ordinance.

Such Imperial ordinance has not, as yet, been promulgated, due, undoubtedly, to the fact that the Government is now engaged in an investigation as to the rights and privileges extended to the subjects of Japan in the matter of and ownership by other nations. There can be no doubt that when this investigation has been completed, such Ordinance, fixing the date of operation, will be promptly issued.

With regard to the status of this matter prior to the enactment of the law of April 13, 1910, there were certain restrictions, greatly softened in their practical operation by the existence of a liberal leasing system which granted rights and privileges to foreigners which were practically equivalent to ownership in fee simple.

Article II of the Civil Code of Japan, provides that foreigners are entitled to all civil rights excepting such as are denied by statute or treaty stipulation. The only statute on the subject containing a prohibition is found in Article XL, of Imperial Edict XVIII, promulgated under date of January 6, 1874, and reading as follows:

“Land shall not be sold, hypothecated or mortgaged to foreigners, nor shall deeds or titles be passed conveying to them ownership rights.”

It is proper to state here that such prohibitive clauses in the Japanese law, running against the right of an alien to hold land, ran against him as an individual, not as a corporation. (Juridical person.) A corporation, organized under Japanese law, had the same rights as a native subject whether its stock was held in whole or in part by foreigners. There never was a time when aliens, organized as a Japanese corporation, could not hold title to land in Japan.

The leasing system, still operative in Japan, may be briefly outlined as follows:

The term superficies is given to land leases, made to either

natives or foreigners for purposes of forestry or general improvement. No time limit is fixed to this class of leases. They may run for one year or be made in perpetuity. Payments are subject to agreement and may be made monthly or annually. In case of perpetuity the entire sum agreed upon may be paid over to the lessor at the commencement of the lease term, which, practically, amounts to purchase.

Another form of lease is known (technically) as *emphyteusis*, granted to natives and aliens alike for purposes of agriculture and stock raising. These leases run for periods ranging from twenty to fifty years, with privilege of renewal. The conditions of payment are subject to contract, or the whole may be paid at commencement of contract term.

There is, in addition, an ordinary form of lease which runs for periods of less than twenty years with privilege of renewal. Such leases are subject to the ordinary laws of contract and guarantee to foreigners every right and privilege enjoyed by native subjects.

Such is, in brief, a statement of the present law and practices in Japan, relative to the ownership of land by foreigners.

Trusting that it has been made sufficiently clear to indicate the liberal attitude of my Government, I beg to remain, very truly yours,

Y. NUMANO,
Acting Consul General of Japan.

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